DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 168 381 HE 010 935

AUTHOR	Pike, Robert M.; And Others
TITLE	Innovation in Access to Higher Education.
INSTITUTION	International Council for Educational Development, New York, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	Volkswagen Foundation, Hanover (West Germany).
PUB DATE	78
NOTE	321p.; For related documents see HE 010 920, HE 010 921, HE 010 933, HE 010 967
AVAILABLE FROM	Interbook, Inc. 13 E. 16th St., New York, NY 10003
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Access to Education; Case Studies; *Comparative Education; Educational Alternatives; *Educational Change; Enrollment Trends; *Equal Education; External Degree Programs; *Foreign Countries; Governance; Government School Relationship; *Higher Education; Open Enrollment; *Part Time Students; Public Policy; Undergraduate Study
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; England; Great Britain; Ontario; Scotland; Sweden; Wales

ABSTRACT

Three essays are collected in this study of access to higher education in other countries: "Part-Time Undergraduate Studies in Ontario," by Robert M. Pike; "Access to Higher Education in England and Wales," by Naomi E. S. McIntosh; and "Strategies for a Broader Enrollment in Swedish Higher Education," by Urban Dahllof. The first essay explores the larger opportunities that part-time studies provide for access, the clientele, and the impact of such studies on higher education institutions, within the context of postsecondary education in Ontario. In this essay, concern is limited to part-time undergraduate study for degree credit. The second essay looks at the post-1945 expansion of higher education in Great Britain, concentrating on the last fifteen years. The objectives are to chart the nature and causes of the expansion, to examine how increased access has affected and been affected by government policy, to determine whether the expansion in numbers has led to a greater equality of opportunity, and to look for indications of future developments in this area. The third essay describes the recent reorganization of the Swedish system of colleges and universities, the latest step in an overall reform of education in that country. Case studies are provided on distance courses and other forms of external study, and a new general admissions policy. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED168381

INNOVATION IN ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

ICED

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PART-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES IN ONTARIO

Robert M. Pike

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Naomi E. S. McIntosh

STRATEGIES FOR A BROADER ENROLLMENT IN SWEDISH HIGHER EDUCATION

Urban Dahllöf

2

HE 010 935

Copyright ©1978 by International Council for Educational Development
680 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019

ISBN No. 0-89192-217-2

Printed in the United States of America

Distributed by Interbook Inc., 13 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

3

CONTENTS

Foreword 3

Part-Time Undergraduate Studies in Ontario 7

Access to Higher Education in England and Wales 151

Strategies for a Broader Enrollment in Swedish Higher Education 251

Appendix—Study Group Membership 331

FOREWORD

In 1975 the International Council for Educational Development organized a comparative study of access policy and admissions practice with respect to higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. This study, financed by a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation, was supervised by a joint German-U.S. Study Group, chaired by James A. Perkins, chairman of ICED, and directed by Barbara B. Burn, director of International Programs at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The final Study Group report is to be issued in 1978.

During the course of the study, a number of special papers were commissioned and several conference reports were prepared. While all these documents made important contributions to the deliberations and final report, a few of them have such universal interest that it was decided to print them as part of the publication program of the access study.

While the work of the Study Group was comparative throughout, involving two countries, it decided early in its mandate to widen the context of its investigations by including innovative approaches to access in still other countries among its concerns. This publication reports on three such experiments. Robert Pike, professor of sociology at Queen's University, analyzes the experience in Ontario with part-time studies and students and their impact on traditional higher education structures and clienteles. Naomi McIntosh, Pro Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs at Britain's Open University, focuses on that university's experience with students under twenty-one years of age, but in the perspective of the entire higher education access system as it has developed. Two Swedish case studies on distance or external courses and the admission of older employed persons lacking traditional entrance qualifications, by Urban Dallöff and Birgitta Willén, and Lillemore Kim, respectively, have aroused interest internationally as countries more and more are concerned with equal opportunity for higher education.

While the access study was basically a German-U.S. project, the problems examined are surely universal. For this reason it is hoped that this important document will be of interest and use to all those concerned with the pressing problem of providing an orderly and just system of access to higher education.

James A. Perkins
Chairman
International Council for
Educational Development

PART-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES IN ONTARIO

ROBERT M. PIKE
Queen's University

with

MARIO CREET
Queen's University

CONTENTS

Introduction 7

Educational Structure and Educational Support 15

Part-Time Students 39

Organization and Administration 65

Limitations on Opportunities for Credit 89

Teaching at a Distance 101

Concluding Remarks 117

Appendices

I: Total Enrollments 125

II: Criteria for the Operation of Integrated Part-Time Study 127

III: The Financial Implications of Integration 131

IV: Extract from the Report of the Commission on Post-secondary Education in Ontario 141

Bibliography 143

INTRODUCTION

Terms of Reference of the Study

The International Council for Educational Development commissioned this monograph as one of a series of studies which, it is hoped, will provide valuable comparative data for the German-U.S. Study Group on Access to Higher Education. The major purpose of the monograph, in the words of the informal ICED terms of reference, is "to explore the larger opportunities which part-time studies provide for access, the clientele, and the impact of part-time studies on higher education institutions" within the context of postsecondary education in Ontario. At the risk of seeming unduly anxious to trim these terms of reference to within rather narrow limits, the author has found that it is necessary to interpret them as applying mainly to part-time undergraduate studies for degree credit in the universities of Ontario. Such an interpretation imposes three sets of restrictions on the scope of the monograph:

First, although limited attention is given to the developments in opportunities for part-time studies at the graduate level and in the provincial Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, exigencies of time and space exclude detailed analysis of part-time personnel, structures, and policies in these particular educational and institutional spheres.

Second, the development of noncredit studies in universities and colleges in Ontario will be touched upon briefly, but not in great depth.

Finally, the major topic of *nonformal* education on a part-time basis as organized learning which occurs outside the established school and postsecondary system, cannot be held as coming within the terms of reference.[1]

Within the context of these restricted terms of reference, it must also be recognized, as Alan Thomas and his associates have recently pointed out, that the definitions of part-time studies "become as multitudinous as the number of institutions that respond in some way to the fact that people either want to, or are only able to, engage in formal study on a part-time basis. The term itself contrasts part-time with the implied norm of full-time" (Thomas, 1975b, p. 3). Essentially, what is being referred to here is the fact that *part-time study* is largely what an institution defines it to be; for example, one institution or faculty might consider a student taking three courses in the fall and winter terms to be *part-time* while another faculty or institution might define *part-time* as *two courses* or *less than 70% of full load.* There is no way of avoiding or solving this particular problem, which carries with it the implication that statistical data on part-time students, based generally in Canada on returns provided by the institutions themselves, usually lump together a series of divergent beings into the same subspecies. Furthermore, the contrast between part-time studies and full-time studies is usually based upon the assumption that the former does not interrupt so-called *normal* patterns of activity–e.g. being in paid employment or engaged in household duties. Such an assumption does indeed fit well with the majority of patterns of study which might be described as part-time, but is, nonetheless, of limited value in categorizing patterns of study which are explicitly based on a combination of work and study—that is, sandwich courses and cooperative education programs. However, since students enrolled in these programs tend to be designated by their institutions as *full-time*, they will not be included in the terms of reference of this monograph.[2]

---

[1] Nonformal education is defined by I. Waniewicz (1976: p. 9) as "any organized activity outside the established framework of the formal school and university system, which aims to communicate specific ideas, knowledge, skills, attitudes and practices in response to a predetermined need."

With the above cautions in mind, it is useful to list the main patterns of part-time undergraduate study for credit which exist within the universities of Ontario. Rarely will all these patterns be found within any one institution.

a. part-time day and evening studies undertaken during the regular academic year. This year generally extends over the fall and winter terms, between September and April, except where trimester systems are in operation. These studies will be referred to as 'regular session' studies.

b. day and evening studies undertaken in spring term (usually six weeks in May and June) and summer term (usually six weeks in July and August). In general, a student undertaking such studies will pursue one or more courses on a fairly intensive basis during one of these terms; an alternative pattern is to extend instruction in a particular course over a twelve-week period between early May and mid-August. This alternative tends to be attractive in the case of evening courses because the six weeks of intensive teaching and learning which is the traditional basis of spring and summer term teaching may be inadequate for students who are presumably fully employed during the daytime and, in the case of six-week courses, in class each evening of the working week.

c. patterns of distance education for credit, including correspondence courses and the utilization of radio, TV and telephone for instructional purposes.

---

[2] See, for example, the University of Waterloo calendar 1976-77, which notes with respect to that institution's wide diversity of cooperative programs: "the co-operative principle is important precisely because it enables those with a career orientation to become full-time students of their subject—not only during the academic terms on campus but during the related work terms, and

Except for distance education, the above courses may be taught either on-campus or off-campus. They may also be provided at varying times of the day and evening in order to accommodate the particular needs of different client-groups of part-time students.

Approach to the Study and Implications of a Major Theme

The first chapter describes the major characteristics of Ontario's system of public education and examines the nature of the main patterns of academic and social selection which occur within the high schools and at the postsecondary admissions stage. The second chapter builds on the first through an analysis of changing patterns of part-time enrollments in postsecondary education and through an attempt to assess the role of part-time studies as a means of providing access to university for various social segments of the population. Chapter III examines recent changes in the organization and administration of part-time studies within the Ontario universities. Chapter IV explores some of the major structural limitations on opportunities which still exist. In Chapter V, Mario Creet of the Office of Academic Planning, Queen's University, reviews the development of distance education. A brief conclusion attempts to bring together some of the themes which have emerged in the previous chapters, and points to developments in the part-time studies field in other provinces of Canada.

At this stage of the study, it might appear premature to refer to one of its major and pervasive themes. However, evidence has been accumulating in the recent past of a growing willingness on the part of the Ontario universities to improve the academic status and educational opportunities of part-time undergraduate students. Because this suggests a major *about-face* from the policies of benign

---

not in a random and uncertain manner, but within a structure of organized purpose and serious study."

neglect of such students in previous decades, an attempt to explore the reasons for this change in policy may be useful.

One relevant, if very general, explanatory factor can be found in the growing recognition within Canada and many other industrial countries of a need to move beyond the traditional view of education as simply part of a stage of life which occurs approximately between the ages of 5 and 21 years; this recognition tends to reflect itself in educational reforms and experiments which are designed to facilitate part-time and adult learning[3] both within traditional educational structures and within new educational models. such as Britain's Open University. In 1972 two reports of important Canadian educational commissions–the Commission on Educational Planning in Alberta and the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario–gained international recognition for the completeness of their proposals for the introduction of programs of continuing education in the North American context (see, for example, Molyneux 1974). The *ideological atmosphere* which stimulated these reports also acts as a stimulus to the universities to greater institutional participation in various forms of part-time and continuing education. Conversely, the growing acceptance of the validity of such forms of education makes opposition to them from pockets of traditionalism within the universities much harder to organize and to maintain.

It would be reasonable to assume that many institutional efforts to facilitate access to part-time studies and to improve part-time student status have been partly motivated by principles of equality of opportunity and social justice. On the other hand, it is not unusual to find such principles combined with a measure of enlightened self-interest as spurs to the formulation of new or revised policies; certainly this has been the case with part-time credit studies in Ontario's universities. As we shall see in Chapter I, higher education in Ontario and the other Canadian provinces went through an unprecedented expansion in the 1960s, and the demand by students for admission to full-time studies was sufficiently high to encourage the universities to concentrate on their full-time clienteles. Thus, in the euphoria of enrollment booms and generous government spending on higher learning, the part-time *extension* activities of the universities tended to be relegated to subsidiary appendages of the universities' main activities of full-time teaching and research.

---

[3] *Part-time learning* and *adult learning* are not, of course, synonymous terms. However, as we shall see, most part-time students in Ontario universities are adults, i.e., in their twenties and beyond.

Unfortunately for the universities, the euphoria of the 1960s has since evaporated in the face of a number of reverse trends—notably a substantial slowdown in the rate of full-time enrollment, growing financial deficits caused by government constraints on public spending for higher education, and the expectation of an absolute drop in the size of the 18-24 age group during the 1980s. In such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that institutions of higher learning in the province, largely dependent as they are on public operating funds allocated in proportion to the size of their student enrollments, should be giving increased attention to attracting larger numbers of mature adults to part-time credit and noncredit programs. The potential demand for higher education on the part of the adult population is thought to be high (although whether the demand for *credit* courses is as high as has sometimes been suggested is a matter which is critically examined in this study). In turn, the desire to actualize this potential demand has caused most universities to cast a critical and reforming eye on existing provisions for and academic regulations pertaining to part-time degree studies.

The scenario described above is by no means unique to Ontario, or indeed to Canada. For example, in their study on *Recent Student Flows in Higher Education* (1976) which reviews postsecondary enrollment trends in eleven countries,[4] Hecquet, Verniers, and Cerych draw attention to the slowdown in enrollments in some countries, and the actual fall in enrollments in others. However, they also note the favorable prospects of making up for the missing students from traditional sources by tapping the potential demand for higher education amongst the older population (pp. 82–84).

> . . . Universities are likely to make strenuous efforts to safeguard their level of income and research activities, and to do this they must maintain a sufficient number of students. This suggests that they will try, as some are doing already, to make up for diminishing enrollments from traditional sources by attempting to attract a more varied clientele. There are a number of things they can do, such as making their courses and timetables more flexible, renewing and diversifying teaching methods, collaborating with non-university institutions, endeavoring to meet the particular demands of certain social groups, and so on. . . . Thus structural changes and transformations in teaching methods, long recognized as necessary but never thought likely to be introduced while student numbers remained high might get under way in the present climate of slower growth (p. 85).

One might reasonably argue that in Ontario the current financial stringencies confronting the universities cannot be entirely explained by slow growth in full-time undergraduate enrollments; current financial constraint policy of the provincial government is based on reasons which go beyond enrollment trends.[5] Nonetheless, as will be apparent, the general causal connections described by Hecquet, Verniers, and Cerych are still highly apposite to an understanding of factors influencing institutional change in part-time study policies, including practices in the universities of the province.

---

[4] Canada is not one of the eleven OECD countries included in the study.

[5] For example, Lockhart has argued (1975) that the economic ideology which lay behind Canadian university expansion in the 1960s was heavily dependent upon the theory of human capital—that is, the assumption that G.N.P. could be substantially increased by the production of more highly qualified personnel. The apparent failure of Canadian G.N.P. to respond as expected to the massive input of resources for education during the 1960s probably helps to account for the financial *backlash* of the 1970s.

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE AND EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT

This chapter provides a brief description of the structure of education in the province, with particular emphasis on the interlinkages between varying levels and institutional groupings. Some commentary is also made on changing educational opportunities in the province, since it is one assumption of this monograph that part-time studies may sometimes be an alternative to full-time studies by those persons who, for academic, economic, or cultural reasons, are unable to undertake full-time studies immediately after the completion of high school. On the other hand, no suggestion is being made here that part-time studies are seen by most students as a *second-best* alternative to full-time studies (although some students undoubtedly do see them in this light). In some instances the decision to undertake a program of part-time studies may be based on preference over full-time studies; or, young people who were not interested in going to university or college on a full-time basis after the completion of high school may later decide to enter a part-time program as a logical way to combine demands of regular employment or household duties with heightened educational ambitions.

General Background

Under the British North American Act of 1867 which established the Dominion of Canada, education was identified as a provincial rather than a federal responsibility. This has meant that the responsibility for overall planning and decision making related to elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education has lain in the hands of each provincial government.[1] So also has the direct responsibility for financing education, although certain federal-provincial tax agreements currently relate to expenditures for postsecondary education. The federal government's direct role in the educational sphere is limited, mainly to the provision of elementary and secondary educational facilities and services for treaty Indians and Eskimos, the financing of manpower retraining programs, certain research grants for universities and university faculties, and overall planning and financing of the Canada Student Loans Plan.[2]

The absence of any significant direct federal authority or involvement in the educational sphere has resulted in the growth of ten distinctive provincial systems of public education across the country. These systems show marked differences in a number of areas: variations in the number of high school grades that a child must pass through in order to matriculate; amounts and types of financial aid available to university and college students; and the structure of the nonuniversity postsecondary sectors. However, what these systems tend to have in common, aside from certain similarities in educational ideologies and in their subjection to similar social, demographic, and financial pressures, is their dominance of the formal educational sphere. Privately funded educational institutions play a relatively minor role in Canadian education.[3] At the postsecondary level, the privately funded university, which draws most of its income from high tuition fees, is not a feature of university education in Canada as it is in the United States. Hence, university and college education in this country is essentially public education in that the major part of institutional income derives from public funds provided directly through the provincial governments, and government control in policy matters affecting postsecondary education is correspondingly high.[4]

---

[1] At the levels of elementary and secondary schooling, school boards are generally charged with the function of raising a part of financial requirements through local taxation.

[2] The Canada Student Loans Plan was established in 1964 on a nationwide basis (although Quebec decided ultimately not to participate) to arrange for loans to university and college students. While the Plan is federally funded, the day-to-day administration of the provisions and regulations is left to provincial authorities.

[3] For example, pupils in private schools accounted for 4% of total elementary and secondary enrollments in Ontario in 1960-61 and 2.5% in 1970-71. Catholic elementary schools in the province are counted as *public* insofar as they are financially supported

One implication of the administrative structure outlined above is that it is feasible to examine aspects of the educational system of any one of the provinces without performing an unwarranted surgical excision of the part from the body of the whole, as might be the case in a more centralized educational structure. Ontario contains about 8 million of Canada's total population of 23 million, and provides elementary and secondary education to approximately 36% of all Canadian school children. Furthermore, the universities of the province enroll about 41% of all Canadian students in university-level programs (Statistics Canada, 1975: Table 27, p. 146; Table 42, p. 198). Some of the relevant social, ecological, and demographic characteristics of the province are as follows:

a. A high degree of industrialization and urbanization with 64% of the population living in urban areas which are large enough to be designated as *metropolitan*.[5] The

---

through public funds, and are not, therefore, included in the above statistics.

[4] For example, in 1971-72, the direct sources of funds for postsecondary education in Ontario were as follows: federal government, 9.4%; provincial government, 77.2%; tuition fees, 10.4%; other, 3.0% (Ontario Economic Council, 1976; table 1, p. 32). However, the provincial government allocation includes a large fiscal transfer to the province for postsecondary education by the federal government. This fiscal transfer is a major form of *indirect* financial support to postsecondary education from federal sources in Canada, but the provincial governments jealously guard the right of administration and allocation of funds transferred to them.

[5] There are nine metropolitan areas, ranging from Toronto (2.6 million in 1971) to Thunder Bay (112,093 in the same year).

major urban concentrations of population are situated along, or close to, the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, with 34% of the total provincial population in the nearby metropolitan regions of Hamilton, London, and St. Catherines-Niagara.

b. A total land area of 363,000 square miles which, taken in the context of a high degree of urbanization and industrialization in the south of the province, means the existence of a vast and sparsely populated northern hinterland. The provision of adequate educational services in this hinterland has always posed difficulties for educational administrators.

c. A population which in its ethnic characteristics reflects the heavy emigration to Canada of the postwar period. While the ethnic distribution of population prior to the Second World War showed a high predominance of people of British ethnic origins, by 1971 only 59% of Ontarians were designated as *British* and 10% as French; the remainder represented many other ethnic backgrounds including the native peoples (Forcese and Richer, 1975: Table 7, pp. 66-67). The high concentration of first generation migrants and their children in some of Ontario's larger cities has, in recent years, focused much attention on the special educational needs of minority language groups. However, although some provision is made for the needs of the Franco-Ontarian population,[6] English remains the predominant official language of instruction.

Move from Elitist to Mass Higher Education 1960-1975

In 1968-69, the level of full-time and part-time postsecondary enrollments for all of Canada was estimated by the OECD as equivalent to 30.1% of the 20-24 age-group—a percentage considerably higher than for most European countries at that time, but somewhat lower than for the United States (Statistics Canada, 1973: Table 8, p. 500).[7] While caution must always be used in making international comparisons of educational participation rates, Canada's high rate does undoubtedly underline the clear commitment which the Canadian provinces made during the 1960s to a distinctly North American framework of values. Opportunities for access to higher education demonstrated support of *mass higher education* for a large proportion of the age-group rather than, as traditional in many European countries, limitation of higher education to a relatively small academic elite.[8] This commitment to mass higher education is worth stressing because, prior to 1960, school and college education in all Canadian provinces exhibited some distinctly elitist characteristics. As shown in Table 1, full-time postsecondary enrollments in Ontario in 1951-52 were the equivalent of only 4.7% of the then 18-24 age-group, and indeed had only risen to 7.7% by the beginning of the 1960s. Enrollment in the nonuniversity postsecondary sector remained small until the mid-1960s; indeed opportunities for advanced vocational and technical education were previously very limited. The decade 1960-70 (specifically 1965-70) was a crucial period in the expansion of postsecondary education in Ontario, as it was in the other Canadian provinces.

---

[6] For example, 25,212 students were enrolled in publicly supported nondenominational French language high schools in 1971-72. In addition, French is available as the language of instruction in some universities and colleges—notably the University of Ottawa, Laurential University in Sudbury, Glendon College of York University in Toronto, and Algonquin Community College in Ottawa.

The high birth rates during the 1940s and 1950s combined with the high postwar immigration rates to produce a dramatic increase in elementary and secondary school enrollments in the latter of these two decades. Coupled with a strong tendency for a larger percentage of young people to stay at school longer and then seek admission to postsecondary education, this youth population bulge

---

[7] The postsecondary participation rates for the U.K., France, and the U.S. in the same year were 13.4%, 18.7%, and 43.3% respectively (Statistics Canada, 1973: Table 8, p. 500).

[8] For details on the concepts of *elite* and *mass* higher education, see Martin Trow, 1974.

TABLE 1
Full-Time Postsecondary Enrollment as a Percentage of the 18-24 Population
(Ontario: 1951-1975)

Year	University	NonUniversity Postsecondary[1]	%18-24
1951-52	21,170	1,628	4.7
1955-56	21,852	4,983	5.5
1960-61	32,100	9,803	7.7
1965-66	58,983	13,310	11.3
1970-71	120,497	55,017	19.3
1974-75	147,231[2]	58,400	20.0

1. Includes enrollment in Teachers' Colleges, Hospital Schools of Nursing, Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology for years when these institutions were in existence.
2. This figure is taken from *Advance Statistics of Education 1975-76*. The Ontario Economic Council in its report on education gives an enrollment figure of 149,800. See OEC, *Issues and Alternatives 1976, Education*, Table 2, p. 33.

Sources:

W. Illing and Z. E. Zsigmond, *Enrollment in Schools and Universities 1951-52 to 1975-76*, Economic Council of Canada Staff Study no. 20, Ottawa, Oct. 1967. Tables A27, A30.

Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada, A Statistical Review for the Period 1960-61 to 1970-71*, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1973, Table 55, p. 402.

Statistics Canada, *Advance Statistics of Education 1975-76*, Ottawa, Information Canada, 1975, Table 7, p. 47.

moved into the universities and colleges during the 1960s. In Ontario, the accommodation of ever-growing numbers seeking postsecondary experience was largely achieved through expansion of existing universities, establishment of a number of new ones and, most important, through the establishment of a new system of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in 1965. In addition, a substantial expansion in the mid-1960s of the hitherto meager financial aid schemes for university and college students provided some measure of financial access to higher education for young people from lower income families. As John Porter noted in 1970, the growth of, and changes in, the universities during the previous ten years had "given rise to a profusion of boards, committees and commissions, the submissions to and the reports of which provide a running commentary about a development which does not quite fit with the hitherto predominantly conservative nature of Canadian society" (Porter, 1970: p. 325).

The contrasting postsecondary participation rates for 1951-52 and 1970-71 (Table 1) reveal the significance of of what might be termed *generational inequality* in educational opportunity in Ontario. For example, a man or woman born in Ontario in the late 1930s would have participated in a secondary school system which catered to less than one half of the 14-17 age-group (the remainder having left school) and from which 6% of children had actually withdrawn before reaching the age of 15 (Kubat and Thornton, 1974: Table E2, pp. 118-119 and Porter, 1965: Table 14, p. 175). The system itself was highly selective and stratified academically, catering, as one observer noted of Canadian education in general at a much later date, to the creation of a small university-bound elite (Rossides, 1970: p. 155).[9] However, even if the student was fortunate enough to join that elite, the gateway to the university was likely to be barred by the costs involved in attendance, and by the absence of adequate sources of student financial aid.[10] The chance of attending a university or college was relatively poor (especially for lower class youth), and surveys of the period were consistent and insistent about the *wastage of talent* at the high school and university entrance levels.[11] It would seem reasonable, therefore, to conclude, especially in the light of the far more liberal educational opportunities open to Ontarians born in the 1950s, that part of the current demand for part-time credit studies reflects the ambitions of older adults who now wish to take advantage of the postsecondary opportunities which they were once denied.[12] The concept of *generational inequality* is clearly one which has considerable relevance to an examination of any system of education which attempts to include students considerably older, on the average, than the full-time student body.[13]

---

[9] Rossides' remark is certainly appropriate to the state of Canadian education in the 1950s, but one may question its appropriateness in 1968, which is when he wrote the remark.

[10] For example, in 1957-58, total student financial aid expenditures in Canada at the undergraduate level amounted to $39.00 per student enrolled, compared with $396.00 in 1967-68 (Pike, 1970: Table 25, p. 157).

[11] A number of these surveys are reviewed in Pike, *op. cit.*

At this point, it should be noticed (Table 1) that although there has been a continued upward trend in enrollments during the first half of the 1970s, the high rate of expansion of the previous decade has not been maintained. A recent report of the Ontario Economic Council attributes the declining rate to vocational factors:

> The rate of growth slowed for those population groups with the highest university and college participation rates. Young people became disenchanted with universities when they realized that a university degree would not necessarily ensure them a better job on the labor market. Many young people chose to attend Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, where they would receive job-oriented training. Greater numbers of students leaving high school dropped out of the educational system or were part of the new *stop-out* phenomenon—they took a year or two to work before resuming their formal education (Ontario Economic Council, 1976: p. 17).

---

[12] This conclusion is supported in some measure by a recent large-scale survey of the demand for part-time education in Ontario which found that perhaps 18% of the Ontario population aged 18-69 (over 800,000 people) were interested in the possibility of part-time learning but were not now engaged in it. This included 19% of the 21-24 age-group, 27% of the 25-29 age-group and 22% of the 30-34 age group. Of these would-be learners, 18% of the total group specifically mentioned that they would like to pursue studies leading to credit for a professional or vocational certificate and 6% studies toward credit for a university degree (Waniewicz, 1976: see especially Table 3, p. 21 and p. 104).

[13] Data on the age characteristics of part-time university students in Ontario will be found in the next chapter.

This phenomenon extended to the level of graduate studies, which, according to the Ontario Economic Council, "lost some of its appeal. Many students, who upon completion of an undergraduate degree would have continued into graduate school in the 1960s, chose to enter the labor market rather than proceed to a higher degree" (page 17). In short, full-time postsecondary studies in Ontario (and, incidentally, if enrollment statistics are any guide, we would have to include the CAATs along with the universities, despite the above O.E.C. comment) do not seem to have maintained their erstwhile appeal. One might assume that some of this appeal has been transferred to the part-time sector. However, as will be shown in the next chapter, the increase in part-time undergraduate level enrollments since the early 1970s has also been rather small, despite a generally high level of involvement in varying kinds of part-time studies.

One trend in the demographic sphere may also have a marked effect on future postsecondary enrollments, and probably on participation in part-time programs as well. While demographic projections show a continued increase in the number of people in the 18-24 age-group until the 1980s, the low birth rates of the 1960s and early 1970s will thereafter begin to make themselves felt in the form of an absolute decline in the numbers in the 18-24 age-group in Ontario from about 1.2 million in 1983 to just over 1 million in 1992 (roughly the 1974 level).[14] This decline may bring an absolute decrease in full-time postsecondary enrollments during the 1980s although much will depend on prevailing market conditions and patterns of support for higher education. In any event, as noted in the introduction to this study, the threat of a decline in future full-time enrollments has led some universities to look long and hard at the prospect of increasing part-time enrollments of older students as a compensatory device.

---

[14] For an examination of the impact of future population patterns on educational enrollment trends, see Z. Zsigmond, "Population and Enrollment Trends 1961-2000" in *Canadian Journal of Education*, Vol. 1, no. 1, 1976, pp. 19-38.

Educational Structure and Opportunity Structure

The Structure of Secondary Schooling

School attendance in Ontario is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 16 years. The public elementary school system covers the first eight years of schooling and offers education of a general nonvocational nature. Secondary schooling begins at grade 9 in secondary high schools based on a comprehensive pattern. Students attain a Secondary School Graduation Diploma (SSGD) at the end of grade 12. If they have the ability and interest, they may attain to a Secondary School Honor Graduation Diploma (SSHGD) at the end of the 13th grade.[15] This latter grade is usually completed at 18 or 19 years of age, after five years of secondary schooling.

In terms of the well-known model of patterns and ideologies of educational selection developed by Ralph Turner (1971), the Ontario public school system would be described as conforming to the principle of *contest mobility* rather than of *sponsored mobility*. The goal of the system, at least up to the end of grade 12, is to cater to the educational needs of the majority of students rather than to concentrate on the location and education of a small academic elite group of students. Thus, there is no formal selective examination barrier between elementary and secondary schooling, and no significant division of students between different types of secondary school for different academic aptitudes and interests. Furthermore, within the comprehensive secondary high schools which almost all students attend, the traditional pattern of streaming students at the 9th grade level into alternative occupational and vocational, and four-year and five-year academic programs—these latter two patterns corresponding to high school graduation at grades 12 and 13 respectively—has been strongly modified in recent years by the development of the credit system. This system enables students to accumulate subject credits, a minimum of 27 credits being required for the SSGD and a further 6 credits at an advanced academic level for the SSHGD.[16] The credit system has the great advantage of allowing students to be promoted by subject rather than by grade. In the words of a recent official review of educational policies in the province, this "allows him (the student) to work at his own level, to reach ahead in some subjects, to engage in more basic work in others, and to accelerate or enrich his program all according to his aspirations and ability. . . . Whereas students in secondary schools previously travelied from period to period as a class—that is, each member of the class had the same timetable—it is now far more common for students to travel in many different directions at the end of a period of instruction, because each person in the class has a timetable different from any other" (Ontario, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1975: p. 76).

---

[15] In some parts of the province, the secondary school program is divided between two institutions, a junior and senior high school.

It should be noted that the modification of patterns of academic streaming through the introduction of the credit system has not entirely freed students and teachers from involvements in the kinds of decision making which may ultimately lock students into some study program options to the exclusion of others.[17] However, the organization of secondary schooling in the province has undoubtedly encouraged the retention of a high proportion of young people in the school system up to the end of grade 12. For example, enrollment in grade 12 related to enrollment in grade 12 ten years earlier was 71% in 1970-71, and in terms of age, 75% of 17 year olds were in full-time attendance at school in 1971-72—a percentage, incidentally, which would contrast very favorably with the relatively low school retention rates after the ages of 15 or 16 in many European countries.[18] The achievement of a SSGD at the end of grade 12 marks the natural completion of schooling for about half of the students who attain this diploma, since it provides the basic academic credentials for admission to many occupational fields and to further full-time education at Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. The remaining half—equal to approximately 39% of the initial grade 9 intake—proceed on to Grade 13, which is essentially a preuniversity grade offering advanced secondary

---

[16] A subject credit is awarded for successful completion of work that would normally be completed in 110-120 hours of scheduled time. It equates roughly with one 40-minute period per day over the entire school year.

[17] In the eyes of some researchers, the credit system has changed patterns of academic selection relatively little. Currently, the main decision which students must make is between studying subjects at a *general* or *advanced* level, which correspond to the four- and five-year program respectively (although some non-academically inclined students may be recommended to enter shorter occupational and vocational programs) The decision to to take a large number of subjects at the general level may cut

---

off the student from the possibility of admission to the grade 13 year, and hence from direct access to university after high school. In the words of three recent writers on the subject, "the credit system permits more subject variety and more flexible progress rates within a stream. The streaming, however, remains. It is only marginally easier to change streams, and it often remains necessary to backtrack if a switch is made after grade 9—the system remains that the student must select a specific kind of curriculum in grade 9 which he will follow through high school" (Clark, Cook and Fallis, 1975: p. 85). In addition, recent research indicates that few students in the high schools of the province consider that school guidance counseling acts as a major source of information on secondary and postsecondary programs (see Porter and Blishen, 1973: pp. 188-191).

[18] For example, in 1968, 61% of 17 year olds in Canada were in full-time education compared with 19% in France (1966) and 19% in the Federal Republic of Germany (1967). The figures are somewhat outdated, and may not be taken as more than an approximate guide to differences in age-retention rates (Statistics Canada, 1973: Table 5, p. 491. See Statistics Canada, 1973: Table 42, p. 36 and Statistics Canada, 1975: Table 35, p. 167).

courses required by most Ontario universities for admission to undergraduate degree programs.[19]

Articulation between Secondary and Postsecondary Education

The Binary Structure of Postsecondary Education

It is evident from the above description that Ontario high school students may apply for admission to full-time studies in one or two major types of postsecondary institution. The first is to one of the 16 universities of the province, all of which normally admit high school graduates on the basis of the attainment of a SSHGD with a certain level of academic standing (although the actual scenario for university admissions in the province is, as we shall see, somewhat more complex than this statement would appear to indicate). The second is to one of 22 Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs), most of which (with some variations between institutions and programs) generally admit students with a grade 12 SSGD to their certificate and diploma courses. The CAATs, widely distributed across the various geographic regions and population centers of the province, are primarily vocationally oriented; the majority of their students pursue one- to three-year programs in various aspects of technology, commerce, applied science, and the paramedical fields. However, insofar as the Ontario government intended them to be community institutions serving the needs of local communities, the CAATs are also relatively heavily involved in the running of apprenticeship training programs, manpower retraining, and in a variety of general interest noncredit courses designed to attract and involve local residents.

---

[19] According to statistics published by the Ontario Ministry of Education, retention rates from grade 9 in 1970 were 72% at the grade 12 level in 1973 and 38% at the grade 13 level in 1974. Enrollments for public and private schools are both included (Ontario, Ministry of Education, 1974: Table 2.10, p. 17).

The postsecondary structure described above is essentially a binary one. At the time of their establishment in 1965, the CAATs were primarily intended to meet the needs of those grade 12 graduates who were not ambitious and/or not qualified to seek admission to a university. Consequently, no formal provision was made—at the time or since then—for offering transfer courses whereby able and qualified students from the CAATs could move, with advanced academic standing, into undergraduate programs at the universities. The lack of any serious attempt to establish a transfer system during the past ten years probably results from the commitment of the Ontario government, and of those educationalists and educators who support the binary structure, to maintain a division between one system (the CAATs) which, in the words of one college president, is "postsecondary, vocational and terminal" and another (the universities) which is "postsecondary, general and open ended" (Sutherland, 1974). More specifically, some supporters of the existing binary structure fear that the provision of large-scale transfer facilities in the CAATs would, by focusing excessive attention on patterns of university preparatory education, undermine the vocational and community-oriented functions which the institutions were established to serve. Although supporters of a transfer system rarely attempt to counter this argument, they point to the creation of an *unnatural* academic barrier between CAATs and universities, and to the dangers of *more noble* and *less noble* categories in the division of postsecondary education.[20]

The topic of transferability is relevant to the part-time studies theme insofar as some CAAT students who are blocked from transfer to full-time university programs may embark on part-time university credit programs after the completion of a CAAT certificate or diploma (although

---

[20] For a discussion of the structure and functioning of the CAATs see Cecily Watson, *New College Systems in Canada*, OECD, Paris, 1973.

Table 9 of Chapter 2 indicates that not many part-time students fall into this category). Before considering this topic, however, a somewhat more detailed examination of the admissions policies of the universities of the province with respect to full-time students is called for.

University Admissions Policies

Although Ontario universities in general expect high school graduates who apply for admission to their undergraduate programs to have obtained the SSHGD, individual institutions are not committed to an *open door* policy which guarantees admission to any applicant resident in the province who gains the required diploma. At the risk of excessive generalization, it may be suggested that admissions policies of most universities in the province differ from the *open door* in two major respects. First, in view of possible heavy enrollment pressures, individual universities usually reserve the right to set an upper limit to the number of qualified applicants for admission whom they are prepared to admit; hence quotas may be applied both to admissions *in toto* and also to admission to particular faculties and departments. Second, when the number of applicants for admission exceeds the number of places available, individual institutions usually base their selection on the final grade level average obtained by applicants in the SSHGD; they will generally admit only those students who have obtained a grade average which is higher (and often considerably higher) than the grade average which is stipulated by the institution as the *minimum* average for an applicant to be considered for admission. This minimum average, moreover, is likely to be higher than the minimum required by the Ontario Department of Education for the conferring of the SSHGD.[21]

---

[21] It is of interest to note that, until recently, candidates for graduation from Ontario high schools were assessed on the basis of external departmental examinations. The final grade average obtained in these examinations was found to be a fairly good

The admissions policies outlined above mean that an applicant with the required minimum grade average has no guarantee that he or she will gain access to the institution of his or her first choice or, if admitted, to the desired program of studies. On the other hand, since there is no *overall* provincial university admissions quota (and also since successive provincial governments have shown themselves to be very sensitive to the issue of the nonadmission of qualified candidates to the university programs) even a minimally qualified applicant is likely to be offered a place in one or another of the provincial universities, although again not necessarily in a preferred program. Some years ago this author undertook an analysis of the extent of *dropout* between grade 13 and university in Ontario, and came to the conclusion that it was not, in fact, very great, and that about 70% of qualified Ontario high school students actually entered full-time studies in the Ontario universities in the year following their graduation, others undoubtedly entering later on, or choosing to go to a CAAT (Pike, 1970: Table 3, p. 25).

---

predictor of academic achievement in first-year university programs, and hence was—and still is—used as a major basis for selection. The later abolition of the external examination system and the substitution of ratings and assessments by individual teachers however, had led to substantial variations in, and between, high schools in the range of grades given to students showing particular levels of scholastic competence. As a result, universities in the province have become increasingly worried by their growing inability to use Grade 13 averages as the basic criterion for admission to first-year courses.

It is somewhat ironic that the Service for Admission to Colleges and Universities (SACU), which was set up during the 1960s to provide nationwide objective tests which could be used to augment traditional university selection procedures, has now been largely discontinued as a result of lack of financial support from provincial governments and universities. The irony is that some Ontario universities in the early 1970s discontinued SACU support because Grade 13 averages alone were reasonably adequate predictors of future academic performance. Many of these same universities are now proposing the establishment of their own entrance examinations as *quality control* mechanisms.

At this point, we should examine the implications of the foregoing observations in terms of the demand for part-time undergraduate programs. As the final comment above suggests, we would not expect substantial numbers of part-time undergraduate students to be drawn from the high school student body which, in past years, actually attained the academic credentials required for university admission.[22] On the other hand, we would expect substantial numbers to be drawn from those who graduated from grade 12 or who left from earlier grades, as well as from those grade 13 graduates who did not achieve a graduation standing high enough to give them immediate admission to a program of full-time university studies. The mode of entry to part-time studies for many such academically unqualified students is through the *mature student* and *special student* admissions programs, one or both of which exist, with some institutional variations, at all universities in the province. The *mature student* program is generally designed to enable older students (usually 21 years of age and over) to qualify for admission as a regular full-time or part-time student solely on the basis of successful performance in aptitude and achievement tests or, alternatively, on the basis of successful performance in one undergraduate course at the first year level.[23] The *special student program*, though a less common mode of admission than the mature student program, enables academically unqualified students of any age to take a given number of courses, usually on a part-time basis. Successful performance in some or all of these courses will qualify the special student for formal admission to a degree program, regardless of his or her age and previous educational experience.[24]

---

[22] Until a few years ago, however, one route to professional education beyond the grade 13 level which attracted many students was a one-year elementary school teacher's certificate course at an Ontario teachers' college. This course pattern, which no longer exists, appealed to many grade 13 graduates who did not achieve university admissions standing, as well as to many graduates (especially women) who did achieve such a standing. As shown in Chapter 2, the impact of this pattern of further education upon the demand for part-time credit studies in the provincial universities has been profound.

[23] In some universities regular admission may be based on performance in preuniversity preparatory courses. In other universities, no formal academic criteria are applied.

The mature and special student regulations are of fundamental importance to an adequate appreciation of opportunity structures for part-time undergraduate studies in Ontario. Since the majority of part-time university students are mature adults, the mature student regulations provide a vital means of access to university studies for the older student who does not possess the required academic standing for admission to university. Most mature student and special student admissions schemes require that participating students commence their studies on a part-time basis, irrespective of whether or not they subsequently move into full-time studies.[25] Acceptance by the universities and colleges of substantial numbers of students in these categories is one factor which helps to explain the increases in part-time enrollments which we shall explore in the following chapter.

---

[24] For example, Carleton University in Ottawa admits special students to regular full-time and part-time status in the Faculty of Arts after at least four full courses are passed with a C-standing or higher in at least two full courses or equivalent. However, higher achievement in a smaller number of courses may be substituted. In 1975-76, Carleton University enrolled a small number of special students (139) in the full-time day division, and 4,082 special students in the part-time evening division.

[25] It is obviously of some interest, from the perspective of access to higher education in Ontario, to ascertain the proportions of mature students and special students who ultimately move into regular programs of full-time studies. Such data are unfortunately not easy to come by. However, in a study of all full-time undergraduate students at Queen's University who first enrolled on a full-time basis at the age of 23 or older, this author found that of the 139 students, from a total population of 198 students, who responded to his questionnaire, 80 respondents—58%—had initially qualified under the university's mature student regulations. This statistic does not tell us the proportion of all mature students at Queen's University who went on to enroll in full-time programs, but it does indicate that the mature student regulations do provide real opportunities for ambitious older students (see Pike, 1975).

Social Factors in Academic Selection

Up to this point, little has been said about the interlinkage between academic selection and patterns of social inequality in the Ontario educational system. It is, however, almost a sociological truism in Western countries that academic streaming in high school, combined with university admissions standards designed to exclude those students who are considered to be insufficiently prepared or poor academic risks, will exclude from university disproportionately large numbers of young people of lower-class and lower-middle-class origins. Among them will be large numbers of particular racial and ethnic minorities—e.g., in the Canadian context, North American Indians, some Southern European migrant groups, West Indian immigrants, and others. There are two obvious explanations for this phenomenon. First, such young people are likely to perform less well in school than middle-class and majority group children and are therefore less likely to remain in school up to the academic level at which they would qualify for university admission.[26] Secondly, a variety of motivational and financial factors—including the direct and indirect costs of attending university—may act as effective barriers to participation for lower-class children even where they show substantial scholastic ability. Furthermore, it is generally the case that in educational systems offering a choice at the postsecondary level between a university system and a community college system which accepts somewhat lower academic qualifications and charges lower fees,[27] relatively more lower-class and lower-income students will be found in community colleges than in the universities.

---

[26] This statement assumes that they have been attending school in Canada, which in the case of many migrants, may not have been the case.

As recent research studies show, the processes of social selection in the Ontario educational system are no exception to the patterns just described. For example, a survey of approximately 9,000 students enrolled in the provincial schools in 1971 revealed that grade 12 students who were the sons and daughters of professional and managerial fathers were almost twice as likely to complete grade 13 as were the sons and daughters of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (Porter, Porter, and Blishen, 1973: Table 2-2, p. 46). Similarly, when asked whether they expected to graduate from university after leaving high school, about two thirds of the children from professional homes answered in the affirmative compared with about 43% of the children of white collar workers and 25% of children of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (*op. cit.*, Table 2-3, p. 48). These differences in social class aspirations and expectations were not eliminated in comparisons which maintained a control for students' mental ability. Even among the top third of grade 12 students in terms of measured mental ability, 68% of those from professional and managerial families, compared with 46% from routine white collar and skilled manual backgrounds and 35% from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds, expected that they would go on to university after completing high school studies (*op. cit.*, Table 3-4, p. 91).

This, and similar studies, makes it clear that a substantial number of talented students from routine white collar and manual backgrounds (with girls very heavily represented)[28] either do not wish or are unable to pursue university studies after the end of high school. This observation is generally confirmed by various studies in Ontario which reveal that the children of the professional and managerial classes, and from higher income families, are overrepresented among full-time university students in terms of their numbers in the general population (see, for example, Pike, 1970: *passim*). On the other hand, if the universities tend to attract a particularly high proportion of upper and upper-middle-class youth, the CAATs would appear to appeal to a somewhat more representative cross section of the Ontario population—including more scholastically bright students from routine white-collar and manual working class homes. To return to the 1971 survey referred to above, only 2% of the scholastically bright sons from professional and managerial background in grade 12 at the time of the survey expected to go on to community college, compared with 17% of the equivalent scholastic category of grade 12 boys in the routine white collar and skilled manual groups, and 18% of the equivalent semi-skilled and unskilled manual group (*op. cit.*, Table 3-9, p. 102)[29] Many of the students from these latter two occupational categories would presumably be covered by the general description of CAAT students provided to researcher Cecily Watson by Ontario CAAT administrators in the early years of this decade. The administrators, as she noted in her review, "believe that the students come from families with no tradition of postsecondary study, where the parents' occupation and family income place them in a class lower than the university student. The administrators had the impression, although unable to demonstrate it statistically, that their students were drawn from upper working class and white collar homes; they were not middle-class" (Watson, 1973: p. 83).

---

[27] The standard Ontario CAAT tuition fee (1976-77) is $125 per semester or $250 per academic year for most full-time post-secondary programs. Student activity fees in the region of $20 may be added to this latter figure. In contrast, the standard Ontario university tuition fee for a full-time undergraduate student in arts or science is $600 for the regular session, plus additional interest and activity fees. All fees, both in CAATs and universities, are scheduled to rise somewhat in 1977-78.

---

[28] The authors of the above report found that lower-class girls were particularly thwarted in their ambitions for postsecondary education. The gap between the numbers of lower-class female respondents who would have liked to go to university and the numbers of this group who expected to go to university was wider than for any other social category of the responding population.

[29] The "scholastically bright" again refers to the top third of students in the survey in terms of mental ability. The equivalent percentages for grade 12 girls in this top third of ability who wished to go to CAATs was 6% of the professional and managerial group, 13% of the routine white collar and skilled manual group and 12% of the semi-skilled and unskilled group. However, 6, 15 and 13%, respectively, of the scholastically bright girls in these categories wanted to go to a teachers' college compared

37

We can only speculate on the extent to which various cultural, financial, and social factors explain these patterns of social selection. For example, it is the firm opinion of the authors of the 1971 survey referred to above (Marion Porter, John Porter, and Bernard Blishen) that financial factors still play a substantial part in dissuading lower income students from university attendance in Ontario, despite the availability of various forms of financial aid (*op. cit.*, esp. chaps. V and VI). On the other hand, it should be pointed out that tuition fees in Ontario universities are relatively low, and that it has been official policy to keep them at a low level in order to facilitate access to higher education for lower income students.[30] In this author's opinion, we certainly cannot discount the impact of financial factors—and especially the indirect costs and foregone earnings associated with attendance at university—but we must also pay due consideration to the less tangible impact of many other social and cultural factors. To take a specific illustration, one examined in the following chapter, the

---

with negligible proportions of the male grade 12 students (Porter, Porter and Blishen, Table 3-9, p. 102). For comment on the elementary school teachers certificate course in Ontario, see footnote 22 of this chapter.

[30] For details of tuition fees see footnote 27. The elitist and expensive private universities in the United States have no equivalent in Ontario.

participation of women in full-time university undergraduate studies in the province, although it is gradually increasing, remains relatively low. To explain this phenomenon mainly in financial terms is doubtful, except insofar as parents, especially if low income, might be less willing to send a daughter than a son to university. Any such explanation would certainly involve a detailed analysis of existing educational and occupational opportunities for women, their patterns of aspirations, and prevailing patterns of family structure and childbearing. In any event, as will be seen shortly, many women appear to be overcoming current barriers and restrictions to full-time studies through participation in part-time programs.

Concluding Remarks

In review, we may briefly summarize some of the main points made in the foregoing analysis. First, it is reasonable to claim that the system of public education in Ontario is a relatively open one; an absence of major academic barriers permits the retention of the majority of young people in school to the grade 12 level and offers substantial postsecondary opportunities to grade 12 graduates in the form of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology. Furthermore, while the grade 13 year is essentially an academically selective preuniversity year (somewhat modeled after the pattern of the sixth form in England), a substantial minority of students do proceed to grade 13; of those students who graduate from this grade, the majority go on to university or some other form of postsecondary education. In addition, the impact of selective academic admissions policies at the university entrance level has been somewhat modified through the establishment of mature student and special student admission schemes. It seems fair to say that in comparison with the highly academically selective educational systems in some European countries, the number of scholastically talented students who do not go on to full-time higher education in Ontario is relatively small.

Secondly, and notwithstanding the foregoing conclusion, the patterns of academic selection which *do* exist within the public educational system of the province, especially if taken in conjunction with the influence of various social, cultural, and economic factors, are sufficient to account for a fairly substantial *social bias* in favor of the upper and upper-middle classes among grade 13 students and students enrolled in full-time university programs. This bias appears to persist even when measured mental ability is controlled, and probably means that there are still relatively large numbers of lower-class and lower-middle-class youth in the province with the mental ability to profit from university who do not go on to full-time undergraduate studies (although, as we have seen, some of these students are attracted to the CAATs). In addition, the element of *intergenerational inequality* linked to educational change in Ontario points to the existence of a substantial pool of older adults of all social backgrounds who were initially denied the opportunity for participation in any form of postsecondary study after the completion of their high school studies.

Finally, although we have not yet explored the matter in detail, the participation of women in full-time university programs is still relatively low (they constitute a somewhat larger proportion of students in community colleges). Until recently, on the other hand, a substantial number of grade 13 female graduates entered one-year programs of teacher certification in the provincial teachers' colleges.

PART-TIME STUDENTS

Part-time studies for credit have a long history in the universities of Ontario. As early as 1889 Queen's University in Kingston made arrangements whereby individuals not resident at the University during the academic year could obtain credit towards a B.A. degree (Blyth, 1976: p. 9). In 1905 the University of Toronto began its first summer session, the first venture of this type by any university in Canada (Blyth, *op. cit.*: p. 6). In these, as in most major extension developments of the following decades, emphasis was on the provision of part-time credit facilities to teachers employed in the public elementary and secondary schools. The role of part-time programs as a means of providing degree-level education to teaching personnel has always been of great importance in Ontario, as in the other Canadian provinces. At the present time, however, this role appears to be undergoing a relative decline in significance.

The publication in 1972 of the report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (COPSE) stimulated much discussion and debate on the provision of opportunities for part-time credit studies in the province. We have already noted the importance of this report, which was recently described by the author of a Unesco report on international trends in adult education in glowing terms: "surely there has never been, within a single polity, such a clear call for wholesale reform of the whole educational system backed by such an abundance of solid evidence and

TABLE 2
Enrollments in Full-Time and Regular Session Part-Time University Credit Studies
(Ontario: 1962-1975)

A. UNDERGRADUATE

Year	Full-time	% Female	Part-time	% Female	% P/T of Total
1962-63	36,058	27.6	11,904	38.1	24.8
1965-66	52,514	31.2	20,317	38.6	27.9
1970-71	106,304	35.7	50,312	43.4	32.1
1972-73	118,700	38.1	52,627	51.2	30.7
1974-75	133,500	N.A.	57,600	N.A.	30.2

B. GRADUATE

Year	Full-time	% Female	Part-time	% Female	% P/T of Total
1962-63	3,328	14.0	1,828	19.0	35.5
1965-66	6,859	17.0	2,066	18.6	23.1
1970-71	14,811	21.2	6,812	21.2	31.5
1972-73	16,324	23.3	9,208	21.1	36.1
1974-75	16,300	N.A.	10,900	N.A.	40.1

N.A. = Not Available

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada, A statistical Review for the period 1971-72 and 1972-73;* 1975 Table 42; and for 1974-75, Statistics Canada, *Advance Statistics of Education* 1975-76, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975, Table 8, p. 48.

hard thinking" (Lowe, 1976: p. 28). Among its many recommendations, the COPSE report suggested that "the part-time student should have a range and quality of learning opportunities equal to those available to full-time students" (COPSE, p. 44), and also favored the establishment of an Open Academy of Ontario as a wholly new institution designed to provide learning through innovative methods and new settings (COPSE, p. 45).[1] In the opinion of the report, such an institution was necessary as an alternative to existing institutionalized education: "Although colleges and universities are likely to remain leading centres of continuing education in Ontario we do not think that they can accomplish this task alone without seriously eroding their integrity through overloading" (p. 45).

Enrollment in Part-Time Credit Programs

Changes over a 13-year period in the numbers and proportions of full-time and part-time students in various categories are detailed in Tables 2, 3, and 4. The main points can be summarized as follows:

> During the period between 1962-63 and 1970-71 the increase in part-time enrollments in undergraduate programs given during the regular university session was relatively far greater than the increase in regular session full-time enrollments over the same period. However, between 1971 and 1975 the absolute increase in the number of part-time enrollments was fairly small, the rate of increase actually lower than full-time undergraduate enrollments (Table 2). At the graduate level, the proportionate enrollment of part-time students rose substantially and consistently between 1965-66 and 1974-75 (Table 2).
>
> When unduplicated summer session enrollments are added to part-time regular session enrollments, the proportion

---

[1] Some features of the proposed Open Academy are described in Chapter 5.

of part-time students among all university students can be seen to have risen slightly between 1971 and 1974 (in contrast to the slight decline seen in the regular session). In 1973-74, part-time enrollments constituted almost half of all student registrations (Table 3). However, while Table 3 attempts to avoid duplication (i.e., counting twice those students registered on a part-time basis during both the regular and summer sessions), it is probable that an unknown proportion of *part-time* enrollments consisted actually of full-time students registered on a *part-time* basis in certain evening and summer programs.[2] For this reason, it should not be assumed that all increases in part-time enrollments consist solely of a growing participation among persons normally engaged in activities other than full-time study.

Long-term statistical data for full-time and part-time enrollments in the Ontario CAATs are not available. However, the most recent figures, for 1973-74, show that over one half of student registrations in credit programs in the CAATs were classified as *part-time.*

While the number of women in full-time regular session undergraduate programs has been increasing rapidly since the early 1960s, in part-time regular session undergraduate programs the number of women has been consistently higher than the female full-time participation rates. By 1972-73 the rapid increase reached the point of women constituting over half of the part-time undergraduate student body (Table 2, A). While female participation in full-time graduate studies showed some increase between 1962-63 and 1972-73 (although it was still very low in the latter year), the participation of women in part-time graduate studies changed very little over the same period; proportionately, it was actually

---

[2] According to statistics provided to the author by Atkinson College at York University, which concentrates on teaching part-time students, some 845 students out of a total of 10,029 registered in the regular session were full-time York students. For the 1976 summer session at Atkinson, full-time York students constituted 25% of all summer session registrations.

TABLE 3
Combined Undergraduate and Graduate Enrollments in All Full-Time and Part-Time University Credit Studies, Including Summer School Enrollments
(Ontario: 1970-74)

Year	Full-time	Part-time	%P/T of Total
1970-71	121,115	104,376	46.5
1971-72	134,419	111,077	45.2
1972-73	135,024	117,402	46.5
1973-74	138,743	124,111 (est.)	47.2

Sources:
Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada, A statistical Review for the period 1971-72 and 1972-73;* 1975 Table 42; and for 1974-75, Statistics Canada, *Advance Statistics of Education 1975-76,*Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975, Table 8, p. 48. Statistics Canada, *Enrollment in Continuing Education Programs 1973-74,* Service Bulletin, Education, Science, Culture Division, Dec. 1975, Tables 1 and 3.

TABLE 4
Full- and Part-Time Individual Enrollments for Credit in CAATS
(Ontario: 1973-74)

Year	Full-time	Part-time	%P/T of Total
1973-74	51,987	64,666	55.4

Source:
Unpublished data from Ontario Ministry of Universities and Colleges.

lower than female full-time participation in graduate studies in 1972-73. It should also be mentioned that in 1971-72 women constituted 45.5% of all postsecondary nonuniversity enrollments, which at the time included enrollment in nursing schools, teachers' colleges, and CAATs.

The 1976 report of the Ontario Economic Council on Education in the Province described the growth in part-time enrollments, both in CAATs and universities, as "tremendous" (p. 18). There is certainly some justification for this adjective as a description of increases in part-time credit enrollments during the 1960s, but it is hardly apt for the somewhat sluggish rate of increase during 1971-75.[3] On the other hand, a complete analysis of full- and part-time enrollment rates requires consideration of the populations from which the students are drawn. Most full-time students are drawn from the rapidly expanding 18-24 population pool, whereas the expansion of the older population pool from which most part-time students are drawn has been much less rapid—in fact, between 1964-65 and 1974-75 the population aged 18-24 was increasing at a rate twice as fast as that of the older population (Waniewicz, 1976: p. 4). This difference obviously affects any assessment of increases.

This point aside, it is still valuable to underline the substantial involvement of Ontario's adult population in some form of post-high school studies. For example, the statistics in Appendix I show a total of over 500,000 students enrolled in credit and noncredit courses at universities and colleges in the province in 1973-74. Even allowing for some double-counting of students, the degree of enrollment in that year was patently large for a total adult population of less than five million between the ages of 18 and 69. Moreover, it should be pointed out that these enrollment statistics do not include people in a wide variety of formal and nonformal learning programs which exist outside the school and postsecondary system. Some indication of the actual extent of participation in such programs can, however, be gained from the findings of a recent survey of the part-time studies in the province (Waniewicz, *op. cit.*). This survey revealed that about 1,400,000 people—or about 30% of the Ontario population between age 18 and 69—are, or were recently, involved in some type of systematic learning activity. Such activities included not only formal study within schools, colleges, and universities, but also courses given by a number of other agencies, such as employers, cultural organizations and community groups, as well as self-directed learning projects (Waniewicz, *passim*).

---

[3] The Ontario Economic Council appears to have been talking about trends in part-time credit enrollments rather than in noncredit enrollments to which the adjective might more appropriately apply. In any case, based on the evidence of their cited sources of reference, they appear to have been extrapolating from patterns of growth in part-time enrollments which occurred during the 1960s, although there is little doubt that the report meant the description to apply to current as well as earlier trends in part-time enrollments.

Choices of Programs of Study

We now move from a general analysis of trends in part-time enrollments to a comparison of the main fields of study chosen by full-time and part-time students in the universities of the province. Statistics for the community colleges are regrettably not available. Tables 5 and 6, although based upon data limited to one academic year in the early part of this decade, reveal the following general patterns of course choice and specialization among students enrolled during the regular session.

> In comparison with the full-time undergraduate body, both male and female part-time students were heavily concentrated in the humanities and social sciences. There was relatively little involvement of part-time students in the various disciplines of the natural sciences. Commerce attracted a relatively large proportion of men studying on a part-time basis. In the case of women pursuing part-time undergraduate programs, the disciplines within the broad field of the humanities and social sciences were overwhelmingly favored.
>
> Among graduate students, the tendency for part-time students to be concentrated in the humanities and social sciences was again apparent, although graduate studies in education were a much more common field of specialization for part-time than for full-time students. There was also a relatively substantial part-time enrollment of

TABLE 5

Field of Specialization in Regular Session Full-Time and Part-Time Undergraduate Programs

1971-72

	FULL-TIME				PART-TIME			
Field	**Males**	**%**	**Females**	**%**	**Males**	**%**	**Females**	**%**
Humanities and Social Sciences	28,881	39.7	26,006	58.4	15,995	66.5	20,785	83.2
Pure Science	12,324	17.0	3,672	8.2	1,270	5.3	389	1.6
Education	4,200	5.8	3,576	8.0	303	1.3	143	0.6
Engineering and Applied Sciences	8,717	12.0	114	0.2	135	0.5	1	*
Commerce	3,283	4.5	332	0.7	1,735	7.2	209	0.8
Medical Studies	1,685	2.3	386	0.9	3	*	3	*
Nursing	27	*	1,712	3.8	5	*	298	1.2
Other (including no specialization)	13,525	18.6	8,740	19.7	4,589	19.1	3,129	12.5
	72,642	100.0	44,538	100.0	24,035	100.0	24,957	100.0

* = less than 0.1%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada,* 1975, *op. cit.*, Tables 43 and 49.

men in the fields of engineering and applied science although, as in the case of undergraduate studies, part-time student participation was low in the physical sciences, mathematics, and the health fields.

There is little reason to believe that these patterns of program specialization have changed drastically since 1971. What they undoubtedly reveal is the impact of the combined influence of student preferences and student opportunities: the choice of programs is determined not only by the preferences of part-time students for particular fields of studies but also by the varying extent to which different program options may be partially or wholly undertaken on a part-time basis. More pointedly, part-time studies at the graduate level are well-established, and quite acceptable, in the field of education, but it would be a brash and naive student who hoped to convince a medical school that he or she should be allowed to undertake and complete an M.D. through courses taken on a part-time basis. However, what is perhaps most relevant to the discussion at this point is the clear fact that the growth of part-time enrollments for credit in the universities of the province has been concentrated far more heavily in some faculties and departments than in others. This concentration has usually necessitated some expansion of teaching resources and facilities in these faculties and departments—and has made them somewhat vulnerable to a variety of organizational problems which might well occur if there were to be any future major shifts in the subject preferences of part-time students or a major overall decline in the level of demand for part-time studies.

Finally, one feature of the demand for part-time programs which is not really apparent in the data, is the strong vocational orientation which characterizes many part-time students. Administrators of university extension programs with whom the author had contact during his research frequently described part-time students engaged in undergraduate studies as mature persons who initially undertook

TABLE 6

Field of Specialization in Regular Session Full-Time and Part-Time Graduate Programs

1971-72

	FULL-TIME				PART-TIME			
Field	Males	%	Females	%	Males	%	Females	%
Humanities and Social Sciences	5,613	44.0	2,256	61.9	3,462	56.7	921	59.8
Mathematics and Physical Sciences	1,842	14.5	168	4.6	279	4.6	33	2.1
Education	465	3.6	249	6.8	1,542	25.3	486	31.5
Engineering and Applied Sciences	1,635	12.8	33	0.9	615	10.1	12	0.7
Health Professions	1,905	15.0	495	13.6	63	1.0	57	3.7
Other (including unclassified)	1,275	10.0	444	12.2	144	2.4	33	2.1
	12,735	100.0	3,645	100.0	6,105	100.0	1,542	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada,* 1975, *op. cit.,* Tables 45 and 50.

these studies to obtain academic credentials which would be of immediate value in the economic market.[4] The vocational orientation in part-time studies is certainly evident at the present time in the heavy demand for admission to part-time programs in such fields as commerce, public administration, and social work. For example, at Woodsworth College (the College of the University of Toronto which caters exclusively to part-time students), commerce enrolls more part-time students than any other field. At Atkinson College (the equivalent college of York University), admissions quotas are now necessary to cope with demand for places in undergraduate programs in social work, business, and administrative studies.[5] In the context of declining enrollments among the universities' traditional part-time clientele of school teachers, this suggests that the next few years may witness a substantial effort by many universities to compete for part-time students through a wider provision of programs with a strong vocational content.

Personal, Educational and Social Characteristics of Part-Time Students

Age Distribution

Students who enroll in part-time credit programs at universities are, not surprisingly, older on average than their full-time counterparts. This is demonstrated in Table 7, which shows the age-distribution of full-time and part-time undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in the regular university session of 1974-75. Of undergraduates 25 years of

---

[4] A shift in interest towards vocationally oriented studies has also been apparent among full-time students, a trend noted in the Ontario Economic Council's Report on *Education*, p. 18. There is no reason to find this shift, in either case, incompatible with intellectual interests and rewards of university study.

[5] Information received from administrators at both colleges. In the case of the part-time students in commerce and business, a substantial number already have degrees but are studying for qualifications as chartered accountants.

TABLE 7
Full-Time and Part-Time Regular Session University Students Distribution by Age (Ontario: 1974-75)

UNDERGRADUATES

Age	% Full-time	% Part-time
Under 20	25.4	1.5
20-24	57.8	23.0
25-29	6.8	28.6
30-34	1.5	16.9
35-39		10.2
40-44	1.0	
45-49		14.8
over 49		
Unknown	7.5	5.0
	100.0	100.0
Nos.	130,615	56,875

GRADUATES

Age	% Full-time	% Part-time
Under 20	33.5	
20-24		9.0
25-29	42.3	36.2
30-34	14.0	25.6
35-39		12.6
40-44	8.6	
45-49		14.8
over 49		
Unknown	1.6	1.8
	100.0	100.0
Nos.	16,516	10,735

Source:
Statistical data supplied by Ontario Ministry of Universities and Colleges.

age or over, only 9% were full-time compared with 71% part-time undergraduates. At the graduate level, just under 23% of students aged 30 years and over were full time; 58% of this group were part-time. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the great majority of students enrolled part-time in undergraduate and graduate courses *were* under 35 in 1974-75—a fact which indicates that part-time studies tend to attract people in their mid to late twenties and early thirties. Presumably many persons in these age categories are still in the process of seeking academic and vocational qualifications which will be of immediate, or future, benefit to them in employment.[6]

Once again, it is regrettable that data on the age distribution of students enrolled in the CAATs are not immediately available.

Another limiting factor is that statistics on the age distribution of male and female part-time university students are not based on the complete part-time population. However, Table 8, which draws its data from a large-scale survey of postsecondary students carried out by Statistics Canada in 1974-75, provides good evidence that female undergraduate students in Ontario who are studying part-time tend to be older on average than their male part-time colleagues. For example, 29.4% of the female undergraduate respondents to the survey who were studying part-time were over the age of 35 compared with just 19.5% of the male part-time students.[7] This finding is hardly unexpected

---

[6] In his survey of bachelors' degree students carried out in 1971, Stager found that summer session students tended to be slightly younger on average than regular session part-time students. The mean age for summer session was 28.5 years and regular session, 31.1 years (Stager, 1972: pp. 6-7).

[7] Some caution should be used in a comparison of the age data for part-time undergraduate students contained in Tables 7 and 8 partly because some of the age categories differ slightly between the two tables, and also because the age distribution in Table 8 excludes an *age unknown* category. In all probability, Table 7 provides a more accurate picture of the total age distribution of

TABLE 8
Distribution by Age and Sex
Part-Time Regular Session Undergraduate Students
1974-75

Age Categories	% Male	% Female
Under 20	4.4	1.3
20-24	21.5	23.3
25-30	40.0	30.6
31-35	14.6	15.4
36-40	6.1	12.7
41-45	8.5	6.2
46-50	3.9	5.5
Over 50	1.0	5.0
	100.0	100.0
Nos.	17,705	19,293

Source:
Unpublished data from *Post-Secondary Student Survey* 1974-75, reproduced with permission of Statistics Canada. A considerable body of national data from this survey is published in Educational Support Branch of Department of the Secretary of State, *Some Characteristics of Post-Secondary Students in Canada*, Ottawa: Thorn Press, 1976.

in view of a tendency for many women to enter part-time studies after the early years of childbearing and childraising (see the next section).

A lack of relevant statistics prevents tracing degrees of continuity and change over time in the age-distribution of the part-time student population. The opportunity for more detailed research might be possible in the part-time populations of those universities and colleges which have age records easily accessible to the researcher. Although not generally backed up by statistics, it has been suggested to the author by some extension administrators that the average age of part-time undergraduate students in the

---

total full-time and part time undergraduate populations, but Table 8, nonetheless, provides a reasonably accurate picture of differences in age distribution by sex.

province may well be dropping as the result of a number of influences: most notably, the decline in the size of the teacher constituency (which has tended to include a relatively large number of older students); the development by some universities of *special student* programs for academically unqualified students beyond the age of compulsory schooling; and finally, a possible shift of interest from full-time to part-time studies among young people in the 18-24 age group.

Women and Part-Time Studies

The substantial, and increasing, participation of women in part-time undergraduate programs—heavily concentrated in the humanities and social sciences—should be viewed in the context of a variety of social, cultural, and economic factors: the relatively low participation rates of young women in full-time postsecondary studies; the tendency for many married women to embark upon part-time studies in order to fulfill their educational ambitions once their children are of school age; and the likelihood that even those women who have acquired an appropriate career training will suffer to a greater extent from obsolescence of their knowledge than male workers able to pursue an uninterrupted career. Since almost all relevant studies fail to break down the occupational information by sex, there is little Canadian data on the employment patterns of women who pursue part-time university credit studies. But it is worth noting that 20% of the 19,000 Ontario female undergraduates studying part-time who responded to the Statistics Canada Survey (1971-75, *op. cit.*) claimed they were engaged in household duties, while another 9% defined themselves as *not employed*—figures which reveal a substantial number of housewives among the female part-time population.[8] As

---

[8] Unpublished statistical data from the Post-Secondary Student Survey 1974-75 provided by Statistics Canada and the Office of the Secretary of State.

Giselda Schade has noted, with reference to the admission of substantial numbers of housewives to Britain's Open University, one of the clear successes that the O.U. can claim is that it offers married women a chance to come back to study, since they tend to be a group which, in her words, "had to drop out of the traditional educational and occupational system" (Schade, 1972: p. 480). In Ontario also, the high participation of women, including housewives, in part-time undergraduate courses for credit, suggests that the universities can claim a similar degree of success in attracting a group which would otherwise confront serious difficulties in their efforts to obtain a postsecondary education.

Educational and Occupational Characteristics of Part-Time Students

Research carried out in a number of countries suggests that part-time university and college studies tend to have a strong appeal for those persons who already have a relatively high academic standing and who are, as this author has himself noted with respect to the student body at Britain's Open University, "highly motivated men and women, many of them of working-class origins, who have perceived the relevance to them of further education through an often long and hard struggle for various professional and technical qualifications" (Pike, 1976: p. 127). The relatively high educational qualifications of students in Ontario undertaking part-time undergraduate studies are evident from the data contained in Table 9, which is taken from David Stager's 1971 survey of part-time bachelor degree students (Stager, 1972: *op. cit.*).

As the table shows, over 70% of the students had obtained a high school diploma at the grade 12 or grade 13 level; 15% had obtained university degrees or diplomas; 35% of those in the winter session and 42% of those in the summer session had received a teachers' college diploma.

TABLE 9
Educational Attainment of Part-Time Bachelor Degree Students Winter 1970-71 and Summer 1971

Educational Attainment	Winter %	Summer %
High school diploma	72	73
University degree/diploma	15	15
Teachers' College certificate or diploma	35	42
Institute of Technology diploma	6	4
Nursing School Diploma	3	2
Other	21	16

Source: Stager, *op. cit.*: Table 15, p. 19.

Although not shown in Table 9, it should be noted that 39% of the students in the winter session and 30% in the summer session had completed four years of high school or less (i.e. they probably left school from grade 12 or earlier grades); hence, while some of these students would undoubtedly have been eligible for admission to a Teachers' College or CAAT, the universities would probably have been closed to them immediately after the completion of their high school studies.

When Stager undertook his research, the fact that a substantial number of part-time bachelor's degree students had some prior postsecondary experience was largely a reflection of the predominance of school teachers (most notably, elementary school teachers) among the part-time student population. Hence, as shown in Table 10, no less than 54% of those winter session students currently employed at the time of the survey were school teachers, and the percentage of teachers rose to 67% of the part-time students enrolled in the 1971 summer session. Other occupational groups well represented were members of white collar and semiprofessional occupations for whom a university degree

TABLE 10
Occupational Characteristics of Part-Time Bachelor Degree Students Winter 1970-71 and Summer 1971

Occupation	Winter No.	Winter %	Summer No.	Summer %
Teacher–Elementary	491	37.1	694	46.4
Teacher–High School/ other	226	17.1	315	21.1
Sales, clerical work	147	11.1	141	9.4
Technician	68	5.1	51	3.4
Nurse	32	2.4	21	1.4
Commerce or finance	55	4.2	45	3.0
Outdoor or service worker worker	18	1.4	25	1.7
Machine operator or craftsman	18	1.4	11	0.7
Other	267	20.2	194	12.9
Sub-total	1,322	100.0	1,497	100.0
No answer	16		31	
Not currently employed full time	269		486	
Total	1,607		2,014	

Source: Based on Stager, *op. cit.*: Table 20, p. 26.

would presumably provide some opportunity for occupational advancement—that is, sales and clerical workers, technicians and, to a lesser degree, nurses and social workers. However, part-time degree studies offered little attraction to manual workers or, at the other end of the occupational class scale, to highly qualified professional personnel.

These occupational characteristics of part-time bachelor's degree students in Ontario raise two pertinent points: one bears on the issue of access to higher education in the province, the other raises a number of questions respecting the future role of part-time credit studies in the provincial universities. The first point, which will be familiar to those who have followed the debate surrounding the development of Britain's Open University, is that, despite the existence of *special* and *mature* admissions programs, part-time undergraduate studies in Ontario are not a major instrument of educational and occupational upward mobility for those in manual occupations. Such studies do little to increase access to higher learning for working-class people. On the other hand, even if they do not provide a major equalizing function for this class currently, there is some evidence–drawn mainly from a survey of 1966-69 graduates at Atkinson College at York University (Anisef and Jansen, 1971)–that part-time credit studies in the universities do attract a relatively large number of people whose social origins, if not their current occupations, are working-class.[9] For these people, part-time studies in Ontario universities are the second of two or more sequential stepping stones to upward social mobility (the first generally being a teacher's college diploma and/or a white collar job). Moreover, many of these people are probably drawn from that group of grade 12 and grade 13 students who for any number of cultural, academic, and economic reasons are unable –or unwilling–to embark on a program of full-time university studies directly after the completion of high school.

---

[9] For example, the Atkinson graduate survey found that 37% of the fathers of Atkinson part-time students were employed in manual and routine white collar occupations at the time of their offsprings' attendance at university, compared with only 20% of the fathers of the full-time students at York University. Similarly, just under 51% of the Atkinson graduates' fathers had obtained only an elementary education, or no education at all, compared with 24% of the fathers of regular full-time students. However, a certain caution must be used in interpreting these statistics, not least because the Atkinson students were considerably older on average than the full-time students, and could, therefore, be expected to have somewhat less well-educated fathers, because their fathers would have had fewer educational opportunities. See Anisef and Jansen, pp. 8-9.

The second point raised by the occupational characteristics of part-time degree students is the decline of the traditional elementary school teacher clientele as a major source of part-time students. It is severe enough to warrant the past rather than the present tense in referring to the teachers' college part-time university sequence as a major mode of social and academic ascent for older students in the province. The importance of this change deserves separate treatment.

Declining Teacher Clientele

Until fairly recently, a person could be initially certified to teach in a public elementary school in Ontario on the basis of high school graduation and one year's professional training at a teachers' college. Those who followed this pattern of entry to the teaching profession were thereafter encouraged—not the least through the linking of degree credits to income increments—to undertake part-time studies leading to a bachelor's degree. This pattern of continuing education is the main explanation for the very high enrollments of elementary school teachers in the part-time degree programs of the universities; indeed, after 1970, current and impending increases in the academic professional standards for elementary school teacher certification in the province meant that few people chose to enter this sphere of teaching unless they were prepared to work intensively towards a university degree. In 1972-73, however, the Ontario Ministry of Education instituted the formal requirement that, as of September 1973, an applicant for admission to a one-year program leading to the elementary teaching certificate at a teachers' college would be required to submit evidence of the successful completion of a university degree in arts or science.[10] Thus, by the beginning of the 1974-75 academic year, all persons newly certified to teach in the elementary schools of the province had graduated from a university in Ontario, or its equivalent elsewhere.

---

[10] I am indebted to Mario Creet of the Office of Academic Planning at Queens University for this information on teacher certification requirements.

This change in teacher education requirements is now beginning to have a substantial impact upon the size of enrollments in the part-time credit programs of some Ontario universities. Most of those teachers who complete their training under the old regulations have now completed a degree by part-time studies (or alternatively, have dropped by the academic wayside) so that those teachers still working toward their degrees form a residual group which inevitably continues to decrease in size. A specific illustration is Atkinson College of York University. While the number of primary school teachers enrolled in that college's summer session rose slightly in absolute numbers from 1,780 in 1972 to 2,030 in 1974, it declined to 1,822 in the summer of 1975. Over the same period, a substantial overall growth in the size of Atkinson College's summer session enrollments brought the proportion of primary school teachers among all part-time summer session students at the college from 37% in 1972 to 26% in 1975.[11] further declines in both absolute and relative terms can reasonably be expected. York University has the advantage of being situated in a large metropolitan area which provides a substantial population base from which to draw part-time students. However, not all universities in Ontario are so advantaged.

In the light of earlier comments on the high level of participation of adults in Ontario in part-time studies, it may seem paradoxical that administrators of extension divisions in some universities have become uneasy over the reduction of their traditional teacher clientele. However, the demand for part-time credit studies at the university level is created by older adults with strong motives for working toward a university degree. Whether defined primarily in terms of personal satisfaction or career advancement, motivation outweighing the costs in time and money that part-time studies usually entail is found in a relatively small proportion of older adults. The actual consequences of of declining teacher participation may, therefore, be a substantial and fairly swift decline in part-time enrollments in some universities (with a concomitant loss of income in the form of fees and government financial support)[12] unless new client groups can be attracted to part-time credit studies or, alternatively, unless the inflow from traditional client groups other than teachers can be expanded. As already noted, those universities situated in metropolitan areas with large populations will probably have little difficulty in continuing to attract more than sufficient numbers of part-time students from both new and existing client groups. On the other hand, for a university located in a small urban center that draws most of its full-time students from areas situated well outside of that center, the problem of finding sufficient interested part-time students from the local region to compensate for the loss of the teacher clientele may be quite a serious one. Given current public financial constraints on spending on higher education in the province, the problem may place additional strain on overcommitted operating budgets.[13]

---

[11] Figures provided by a senior administrator at Atkinson College.

---

[12] In Ontario, the provincial government provides operating funds to each university on the basis of a formula which links operating income to level of enrollments, with built-in financial weightings which are based on the various levels and categories of students. Currently, all part-time enrollments are weighted on the basis of a full-time enrollment equivalency.

[13] Queen's University of Kingston, provides an excellent example of the impact of declining part-time enrollments within a university situated in a small urban center of 60,000 inhabitants. The report of the Queen's Principal's Committee on Financial Constraint made the following comment in May of 1975: "From 1971-72 to 1974-75, the part-time enrollment of extension students at Queen's has dropped by about 5.6% from 1,826 to 1,726 students. All the evidence we have indicates a further decline through to 1980. A large part of this decline is due to the

Finally then, one lesson which may be learned from an examination of part-time undergraduate studies for credit in the Ontario universities (although it is only of limited relevance to the community colleges or the university graduate schools) is that heavy reliance on the participation of of students drawn from one major occupational sphere may, when circumstances change, create some difficulties for those universities which cannot count on a compensatory enrollment increase from other segments of the population. Such difficulties are likely to include not only a potential loss of income, but also internal strains generated by the tendency for part-time students to concentrate heavily in certain faculties and departments. The more positive side of the balance, as already suggested is that the loss of a traditional clientele (especially when combined with the demographic and enrollment trends referred to in the introduction) is providing the universities with a stimulus to seek to attract more part-time students from other segments of the population through the provision of new modes and patterns of teaching and learning. Some of these new modes and patterns will be examined at a later stage of this report.

Part-Time Postsecondary Students in the CAATs

As stated in the introduction, this report gives only secondary consideration to part-time studies and part-time students in the Ontario CAATs. Nonetheless, it is appropriate to make brief reference to the CAAT students undertaking part-time credit courses and programs if only to observe that little is known about their occupational and educational characteristics. Most CAATs admit students to part-

---

diminishing number of potential students in our traditional constituency, the elementary school teachers without degrees. There appears to be little prospect that this declining constituency will be replaced by other part-time students from our relatively low population density region. This is in marked contrast to the prospect for the metropolitan universities" (Principal's Committee, 1975: p. 6).

time credit studies on the basis of grade 12 graduation or the mature student admission procedure (which, in the colleges, usually applies to students over the age of 19 years). However, there is little doubt that the relatively flexible timetabling of many CAATs combined with less program structuring than the universities (for example, hierarchical series of course prerequisites) helps to attract many *casual* students to their part-time credit programs—that is, students who have an interest in a particular course or courses, but not in obtaining formal academic credentials.

Clearly, a fairly significant casual clientele in many CAAT courses is likely to reflect particular occupational and educational characteristics. For example, one would expect that, in other than highly technical or vocational programs, the CAAT courses might attract relatively large numbers of well-educated people, including middle-class housewives seeking some relief from household responsibilities. However, this is clearly speculative, and must await confirmation or rejection by the findings of future research projects.[14] The most that can be noted here is an observation from the director of part-time credit and noncredit programs at the CAAT in Kingston, Ontario. It appeared to him that relatively large numbers of the part-time students at the college were being drawn from the prosperous middle class areas of the city and relatively few from the economically poorer districts. Such a pattern of recruitment, if it exists, could easily reflect social class differences in the motivation for education, although it is also true that in Kingston the poorer districts are relatively distant from the college and ill served by public transportation facilities.

---

[14] It is worth mentioning that unpublished data from the Post-Secondary Student Survey 1974-75 (*op. cit.*) reveal that one quarter of the 697 female respondents participating in part-time studies in Ontario CAATs claimed to be engaged full-time in household duties compared with 20% of the equivalent female undergraduate group. Also, as might be expected, part-time CAAT students are considerably older on average than full-time CAAT students. In the case of the Post-Secondary Student Survey respondents, 28% and 56% respectively of male and female part-time CAAT students were over 30 at the time of the survey compared with negligible proportions of the full-time populations. The major difference in the proportions of male and female part-time students in the CAATs who were over 30 years old may be taken as further evidence of the tendency for women to participate in part-time postsecondary studies after the period of childbearing and childrearing.

Conclusions

In one respect, this chapter has reported on two somewhat contradictory trends: the high overall participation of adults in Ontario in part-time studies, including such studies in universities and colleges; and 2) the generally slow rate of increase in part-time undergraduate enrollments for credit in recent years and the problems associated with the declining participation of the traditional teacher clientele. The source of the contradiction may well lie in the general characteristics of those adults who are likely to undertake a program of part-time undergraduate studies. Relatively well-educated, drawn from white collar and semi-professional occupations, and anxious to obtain degree credentials in order to improve their employment and/or promotions prospects, such adults (no less than many younger high school graduates) may well have been discouraged, in recent years, from pursuing part-time undergraduate studies by the high publicity given to the decline in the marginal financial returns of a university degree.[15]

Be this as it may, part-time credit studies are clearly important as a means to a university degree for substantial numbers of women and as a means of upward mobility for

---

[15] Presumably too, there is some connection between the slow rate of increase in part-time credit enrollments in universities and the declining participation of elementary school teachers, although the latter has tended to be a more recent phenomenon than the former.

many older persons with lower class social origins now in white collar jobs. More generally, the future demand for part-time undergraduate studies, in the context of the declining participation of elementary school teachers, would appear to lie in attracting more students from other segments of the traditional part-time clientele, and also in appealing to hitherto untapped sources of potential demand. However, the relatively high educational qualifications of most part-time undergraduate students should discourage false optimism about attracting substantial numbers of part-time students from those segments of the population with a relatively low average level of education (less, say, than grade 12 graduation standing or equivalent). On the other side of the coin, due cognizance should be taken of a potential demand from the substantial numbers of bright lower- and lower-middle-class students who either terminate their formal education at the grade 12 or proceed on to a CAAT.

Finally, we have noted that the declining enrollment of elementary school teachers is likely to pose rather more serious problems for Ontario universities situated in small urban centers than for universities situated in large metropolitan areas. There is limited evidence that the makeup of the part-time clientele of some of the metropolitan universities is already changing, as substantial numbers of adults from immigrant minority groups gain admission to the institutions.[16] Hence, the next few years may witness a major shift of the social role of part-time undergraduate studies at some metropolitan institutions from agencies of upward social mobility for a predominantly Canadian-born, Anglo-Saxon clientele to agencies of upward social mobility for Ontario's sizable white, and nonwhite, minority immigrant groups.

---

[16] For example, Atkinson College has a large intake of students of West Indian origins.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

This chapter examines the nature of the organizational structures which have been established within the universities of the province in order to satisfy the demand for part-time credit studies. Special attention will be given to those changes in the organizational structure of teaching and learning which have been specifically designed to improve the academic status and educational opportunities of part-time undergraduate students. The organization of part-time learning in the CAATs will also be touched upon, but in less detail.

General Background

Traditionally, the status of the part-time undergraduate student within the academic pecking order of the provincial universities has been that of *second-class citizen.* A report to the Senate of McMaster University (1973) addressed itself "to eliminating the anomalies and inequities evident from the most cursory comparison of the opportunities available to and the regulations governing part-time versus full-time students (e.g. the prohibition of part-time students from entering honors programs; the failure to require part-time students to specify their subject(s) of concentration upon completion of Year I; the provision of unstructured programs for part-time students; looser credit retention, supplemental and withdrawal regulations for part-time students, etc." (McMaster University, Senate Committee, 1973, p. 17). More widely known, the report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (1972) summed up the low status of the part-time student in a frequently quoted statement:

> . . . At only a few centres do adult and part-time students enjoy the status accorded full-time learners and have programs specially tailored to their needs. In other institutions, their low status is constantly reinforced and symbolised by the fact that the teaching of most of their courses is organized on an overload basis, as an extra activity for staff pursuing salary supplements. Is it surprising, then, that part-time students resignedly murmur about the sorry attitude of some of their teachers—those who seem less to be cultivating the vineyard of learning than operating a mining claim? (COPSE, p. 23).

The fairness of the Commission's remarks on the motivations of some teachers of part-time students might well be debated,[1] but it is of more concern here to observe some of the changes in the organization of part-time undergraduate studies in many provincial universities since 1972 which have gone a long way to blunting many of the Commission's criticisms. The other side of the coin—the continued existence of various structural barriers to equality of educational opportunity for part-time students—is taken up in Chapter IV.

The Pressure for the Integration of Full-Time and Part-Time Studies

At the beginning of the previous chapter, we noted the recommendation of the COPSE report that "the part-time student should have a range and quality of learning opportunities equal to those available to the full-time student." This recommendation, which incidentally predates some similar recommendations contained in the Carnegie Commission's report, *Toward a Learning Society (1973)*, may be linked to a letter sent in 1972 to the provincial universities by the then Ontario Minister of Colleges and Universities. The contents of this letter (Appendix II) note that those universities willing to accept certain criteria for the integration of part-time and full-time instruction would be rewarded with larger operating grants based upon their part-time student enrollment.[2] The major criteria may be summarized as follows:

---

[1] For example, in private correspondence with the author, the Principal of a University College which is heavily engaged in part-time teaching criticized the Commission's remarks as follows: "Overload teaching does not equal bad teaching. Indeed it permits you to get rid of bad teachers without worrying about tenure. You can operate a mining claim efficiently."

> Instructors of part-time students should be full members of the appropriate department and faculty with the full privileges and responsibilities of any regular or part-time faculty members.
>
> Payment for services rendered in teaching part-time students should be based upon a regular teaching load, without regard to the time of day at which courses are taught.
>
> The development of courses for study for part-time students should be handled within the normal university structure under the direction of the Senate or appropriate academic governing body.
>
> Regulations for part-time students should be built into the overall academic structure so that requirements for admission, promotion, degrees, etc., are identical for full-time and part-time students.

---

[2] As noted in the Minister's letter, universities which adhered to these criteria would be allowed a conversion rate of five part-time student registrations as equivalent to one full-time student registration, rather than the existing ratio of 6:1, as a basis for receipt of operating grants. It should be again mentioned that in Ontario government financial support to the universities is based mainly on a formula which relates such financial support to the numbers and categories of students enrolled in a given institution.

> The university should schedule its courses on an integrated, extended day program which allows part-time students to enroll in classes offered in either the day or evening hours and would allow full-time students to attend classes specifically for part-time students when practical.

The above criteria, if strictly adhered to, would eliminate most major differences in those university regulations amenable to revision and reform which govern the academic status of part-time and full-time students. Most significantly, they would ensure that the majority of courses available to part-time undergraduate students are taught by regular members of the university faculty as part of their normal teaching load. Reform would thereby end the *mining claim* operations of some regular faculty members seeking extra pay for overload work and would also drastically reduce the number of nonregular part-time teachers employed especially for part-time students.

The intentions of the Government of Ontario in framing this policy were not necessarily entirely generous or philanthropic; on the contrary, as evidenced in Appendix III, there appears to have been some official assumption that the change to integrated studies could be made at no additional cost to the public purse.[3] Furthermore, the actual extent to which the universities of the province have proved able, or willing, to meet the government's criteria shows considerable variation from institution to institution—and certainly, the province has not yet reached the point where the integration of full-time and part-time instruction in the full spirit of the Minister's letter is a total reality.

---

[3] This observation may appear somewhat strange in view of the willingness of the Ontario government to provide an equivalency conversion factor of part-time to full-time students of 5:1, rather than of 6:1, where integration is undertaken. However, a letter from the then Minister of Colleges and Universities to the Principal of Queen's University (April 26, 1971) contains the interesting comment that "The Committee on University Affairs stated that the change in the factor of part-time students should not be an additional cost to the Provincial Treasury but rather a factor to redistribute available resources." The Committee on University Affairs is a body of officials and academics which advises the Government on university matters.

The next three sections of this chapter explore various aspects of the move towards integration: the degree of integration of full-time and part-time instruction up to the present time; second, the organizational structures established to administer part-time studies programs; and aspects of admissions policies for part-time students. The main focus will continue to be part-time studies at the university undergraduate level. Admission to part-time graduate studies in the provincial universities is generally a matter of departmental or faculty policy, its relevant structures and regulations too variable and too complex to be usefully discussed here. The Ontario CAATs were not included in the integration policy laid down by the provincial government, largely, one supposes, because their role as community institutions offering a wide range of vocationally oriented courses was seen to require a substantial degree of flexibility in staffing procedures. Nonetheless, there is a limited move toward integration between full-time and part-time students, and between day and evening programs, in these institutions [A. Thomas, *et al.*, 1975 (B), p. 41].

Integration of Full-Time and Part-Time Instruction

Complete details on the extent to which full-time and part-time instruction have so far been integrated in the provincial universities are not yet available.[4] However, a 1975 survey of six universities and university colleges undertaken by the Ontario Council for University Continuing Education (OCUCE) revealed that in four of the institutions between 75% and 100% of on-campus teaching durthe fall and winter terms was on an integrated basis—i.e., instructors were teaching both day and evening courses as part of their regular work load rather than on an overload basis.[5] Of the two other institutions, one offered no statistical breakdown between regular session but claimed to be "50-60% on the way to integration," while the other noted that 70% of the fall and winter teaching was still on an overload basis (OCUCE 1975). While this survey indicates some *holding out* against integrated teaching during the regular session, the trend towards integrated teaching during this session is clearly strong. It is confirmed by this author's survey fo seven other universities which revealed a high degree of integrated teaching in five and a substantial overload component in the other two. Discussions with a number of administrators of part-time programs suggest that the willingness of faculty members to teach part of their regular course load in the evening varies between departments, although this may pose no more problems than recruiting faculty for extension overload teaching.[6]

---

[4] Much of the information contained in the following sections of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 4, is based upon replies to questions put to administrators of part-time programs of all Ontario universities in the fall of 1976. The questions were asked either during the course of an interview between the author and the administrators, or included in a letter sent to the administrators. In total, responses were received from 12 universities and two quasi-independent affiliated colleges.

The integrated regular session teaching pattern just described is generally associated with the formulation of regulations permitting full-time and part-time students to enroll in courses for which they are academically qualified, irrespective of whether such classes are taught during the day or evening hours. In the OCUCE survey, all universities and colleges claimed to have formulated such regulations (a finding confirmed by the author's enquiries at the seven other institutions), although one university did note that full-time students were *discouraged* from taking evening courses. Such discouragement presumably stems from the not unreasonable fear that evening course quotas might become filled with regular full-time students to the disadvantage of part-time students whose course participation is usually limited to the evening hours. This negative potential of integration does not appear, as yet, to be a major concern among part-time studies administrators. However, two administrators did say that "if it came to a crunch" they would seek to give preference in evening programs to part-time students.

---

[5] The six institutions surveyed by OCUCE were Erindale College, McMaster University, Ryerson College, Trent University, Waterloo University and Wilfrid Laurier University.

[6] The administrator of part-time studies at a university which still has a heavy overload component in teaching during the regular session informed the author that his university was having difficulty in recruiting regular faculty to teach extra courses for extra pay (*Source:* Private correspondence with the author).

The equal admission of full-time and part-time students to courses which have traditionally been treated as *extramural* generally extends to courses taught in the spring and summer terms.[7] In many institutions, a substantial proportion of enrollment in such courses consists of regular full-time students who are attempting either to spread their course load over the whole year (rather than during the two terms of the regular session) and/or to hasten their attainment of a university degree. It should be noted, however, that even where admission to spring and summer courses is normally integrated, much of the teaching during the spring and summer months is still on an overload basis, which means that it is undertaken either by regular staff for extra pay or by specially hired instructors paid a specific sum for a specific course. Four of the six institutions covered by the OCUCE survey claimed that all of their summer session teaching was still on an overload basis; only one claimed to be entirely integrated (OCUCE 1975). This overload pattern, generally confirmed by the author's own enquiries, results in part from the unwillingness of many regular faculty members to teach during the summer months (hence the employment of nonregular instructors), or from their unwillingness to commit a substantial period of potential research time to teaching without additional financial compensation.[8] It should be mentioned here that the author found little evidence of effort on the part of the universities to oblige their faculties to integrate spring and summer school teaching, although presumably such effort was an intention of the policy formulated by the Ontario government. Nor is there much evidence that the existing levels of integration have resulted in any widespread increase in average course load.

---

[7] The observations in this paragraph are not directly relevant to the small number of universities in Ontario which organize their academic years on a trimester basis—i.e., on the basis of three regular terms extending over most of a 12-month period, with full-time students pursuing regular intramural studies in two, or possibly all three, of these terms.

To specify quite clearly the implications of the levels of integration which have now been achieved in full-time and part-time instruction: the full integration of such instruction within a given university does *not* mean that the typical part-time student, who can only take courses offered during the evening hours, will normally be provided with a range and variety of courses and academic programs as comprehensive or the same as those offered to full-time students. The case is patently otherwise, as we shall see in the next chapter. Rather, what full integration during the regular session does mean is that the university offers courses taught by regular faculty on an extended day basis (usually between about 8 a.m. and 10 p.m.) and that those courses which are offered during the evening hours, which may be relatively few or relatively many, are open to both full-time and part-time students equally.

---

[8] There is often a substantial overload component in the teaching of off-campus courses offered during the regular session. As with spring and summer term teaching, attracting regular faculty to off-campus teaching generally necessitates an extra stipend. Since distances between population centers in Ontario tend to be large, off-campus teaching may require considerable travel.

The system usually ensures that the part-time student is not disadvantaged in the quality of instruction; on the other hand, it offers no guarantees that part-time students will be offered a sufficiently broad choice of courses to pursue degree programs in a variety of alternative subject specializations.[9]

A university's decision as to whether or not it should integrate teaching during the regular session is in some measure dependent upon the anticipated financial consequences. A number of variables determine whether integration is financially feasible. Some of these variables are elaborated in the commentary on the economics of integration by Mario Creet of the Office of Academic Planning at Queen's University (Appendix III). As Creet points out, the integration of full-time and part-time studies does not necessarily yield academic benefits to part-time students nor can it always be undertaken without imposing additional financial burdens on the institution. For example, if integration requires hiring additional regular faculty at higher stipends than would be paid to staff teaching on an overload basis, the additional costs may inhibit the expansion of opportunities for the part-time clientele. On the other hand, when both full-time and part-time student demand for courses can be handled by the existing staff, it may reflect a decline in the demand from full-time students for certain courses. In this case, many of the integrated courses open to part-time students may be the less popular ones in the university calendar.

Mario Creet's analysis of the financial aspects of integration provides a healthy counterbalance to the generally favorable commentary on its academic aspects presented here. Whereas I, for instance, point out how current financial constraints combined with actual or threatened declines in full-time enrollments lead many universities to increase part-time participation by older adults. Creet notes an ironic effect of the effort: by vesting decisions on evening and summer course offerings in subject departments rather than, as formerly, in a Division of Extension, the available resources may, during a period of increasingly tight university budgets, be reallocated to full-time students at the expense of the part-time clientele. In other words, a measure designed to equalize treatment for part-time students and to attract them to undergraduate studies could discriminate against those it is designed to help. Sociological research abounds in examples of efforts with unforeseen consequences that negate the initial intention. Integration may be yet another example.

---

[9] All other factors aside, far fewer courses can be scheduled between 6:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. than during the daytime hours. Also, student enrollments in some evening courses may be too small to permit them to be offered on a regular basis. Part-time students who can take courses only in the evening are therefore inevitably at a disadvantage. A more detailed discussion of such limitations is provided in Chapter 4.

Organizational Structures for Part-Time Credit Studies

The great majority of Ontario universities maintain special divisions, or centers, or colleges, which are concerned with part-time studies. Many maintain two distinct administrative units, one concerned with part-time studies for credit and the other with noncredit programs. Similarly, each of the Ontario CAATs normally maintains a Continuing Education division which is concerned with part-time credit and noncredit studies.

Most U.S. institutions, as reported in *Toward a Learning Society*, utilize one or more of three methods of accommodating adult and part-time learners (Carnegie Commission, 1973, p. 83):

1. By integrating part-time instruction with the instruction offered by the regular departments of universities and colleges.
2. By creating special evening or extension divisions to accommodate these students.

3. By creating separate institutions or organizations to provide part-time continuing and recurrent education at the postsecondary level.

The traditional organizational pattern in Ontario was the special evening or extension division which met the needs of its own students largely through instructors employed on an overload or contract basis. Recent developments have moved the universities away from this pattern toward one of four other patterns which, while they bear some resemblance to those outlined by the Carnegie Commission, differ in various respects. A description of each of these organization patterns is provided below. It should be noted beforehand that the first three attempt substantial moves toward the integration of instruction, although in practice the actual extent of integration will vary between institutions. The fourth pattern—the autonomous college—is thought to reflect the Ontario government's policy on integration, despite certain nonintegrated characteristics.[10]

Full Integration

In this relatively uncommon organizational pattern, the university has no particular division or college specifically concerned with the administration of the part-time student body. Part-time students, studying on campus, are admitted through the same administrative procedures as full-time students and, except for the course limitations referred to in the previous section, take the same courses taught by the same instructors. The University of Waterloo's administrative arrangements for part-time studies is an example of this pattern, whereby the part-time student population is not singled out as a distinctive group within the university community.[11]

---

[10] See page 128. No. 2.

[11] As is frequently the case, however, the University of Waterloo does employ a coordinator of part-time studies who works through the registrar's office. It also runs a substantial corredence program which requires specialized administrative arrangements.

The Partially Integrated Division of Extension

In this pattern, which exists with some variations in a number of universities, a Division of Extension is responsible for a number of administrative matters pertaining to the part-time population.[12] Part-time day and evening students are normally admitted to the university through the Division (in some instances they are admitted through a particular faculty in the same manner as full-time students), and the Division negotiates with various academic departments on offering integrated courses at times which will be convenient for these students. The academic departments usually have the ultimate responsibility for setting-up and staffing of these courses, since they are open to full-time and part-time students equally as part of the departmental intramural program. The Division of Extension's only direct concern with staffing may be restricted to paying regular or nonregular faculty when teaching on an overload basis is necessary. The actual staffing of such overload courses, whether taught on or off-campus by regular or nonregular faculty, is likely to rest with departments.[13]

The Integrated Part-Time College

This pattern bears certain similarities to the Division of Extension pattern, but is generally found in universities organized around a number of colleges. In Woodsworth College at the University of Toronto—the foremost example of this pattern—part-time students are admitted through a central admissions process but are nonetheless registered at Woodsworth College, the only college on the main campus which admits newly enrolled undergraduate students undertaking part-time programs.[14] Woodsworth College does not itself employ any teaching staff, but arranges with the departments in the Faculty of Arts and Science of the university, and with professional faculties, for the offering of integrated courses to which its students, along with the full-time students of the university, will be admitted. In essence then, an integrated college such as Woodsworth acts as the administrative center for the organization of part-time studies on the university campus. It may also provide a *home,* including some leisure facilities, for part-time students (about 6,000 at Woodsworth College) who would otherwise be isolated on an impersonal campus.

---

[12] The actual titles of these administrative units vary from one institution to another.

[13] The partially integrated Division of Extension pattern tends to occur in those universities which are in the process of changing from a special extension division to the full integration of part-time students. In some instances, the process creates awkward administrative arrangements—at Queen's University, for example, faculty teaching integrated evening courses receive two lists, one containing the names of regular full-time students and the other the names of part-time students.

The Autonomous Part-Time College

The only autonomous part-time college in Ontario is Atkinson College at York University in Toronto. Part-time students are admitted directly by the College (although within the framework of admissions regulations established by the university), and are taught by members of the College faculty who concentrate their attentions almost exclusively on evening teaching and the summer school program. Like Woodsworth College at the University of Toronto, the student population of the Atkinson College is wholly part-time[15] except for full-time students from elsewhere in York University in its evening and summer courses. Similarly, since Atkinson College concentrates on evening studies, part-time students wishing to take day courses during the regular session may enroll in programs offered elsewhere in the university.

---

[14] Part-time students are also admitted to Scarborough and Erindale Colleges of the University of Toronto, which are not on the main campus.

[15] Woodsworth College has about 300 full-time students. These are students who started their studies on a part-time basis and remained with the College after enrolling on a full-time basis.

Certain part-time administrative structures in some provincial universities do not conform precisely to any of these four patterns. These represent the major organization forms for part-time undergraduate studies in Ontario, however, and each has advantages and disadvantages. The various integrated models, for example, offer a relatively high assurance that part-time regular session students will indeed be integrated into the academic mainstream of university life, because the teaching of these students is not separated from that of the full-time student body. Since they do not maintain their own programs of study or academic faculty, integrated colleges on the Woodsworth pattern are less likely to be viewed as "second rate" institutions by the other sections of the university community. This has been the fate of some autonomous part-time colleges. Not all the advantages are with integration, however. The autonomous model ensures staff highly experienced in teaching older part-time students and generally committed to adult education. In addition, the autonomous model is able to provide its students with a clearly defined, and reasonably guaranteed, program of studies up to the degree level—a clear advantage over some integrated structures which may have to rely on the goodwill (not to mention the whims and foibles) of various faculties and departments in order to map out programs to fit the needs of their students. By and large, the trend in Ontario is toward one of the integrated forms, particularly the integrated college pattern,[16] not least because the autonomous college usually requires a source of new faculty at some substantial cost to the institutional budget.

---

[16] Julian Blackburn College, for example, at Trent University is similar to the Woodsworth College model. A recent report prepared by Professor Donald A. George for Carleton University in Ottawa recommends an organizational structure to be called the Henry Marshal Tory School which would not itself present courses and programs but would work "with and through the departments, schools, and faculties of the University—(and) act as a catalyst to assemble and develop resources, courses, and programs for adult

The move toward total integration is understandably based, in large part, on the conviction that only total integration can assure a reasonable equality of treatment to part-time and full-time students. Because of their part-time status, many part-time students are inevitably at a disadvantage compared to full-time students in certain respects—e.g., trying to consult with members of the faculty or tutors outside lecture hours, or finding enough free time during university day-time office hours to obtain administrative assistance with the tangled webs of university degree regulations. In short, part-time students confront special problems not faced by full-time students; they may therefore require the special support and assistance of an administrative unit specifically established for that purpose. Thus, the danger is full integration may deprive the part-time student of the only protector of its interests, should previously existing divisions of extension be either abolished or drastically reduced in functions by the move toward integration. One advantage already noted of the integrated college model (or, indeed, of the autonomous college model) is that it provides a *home* and meeting place for part-time students—and such a center is likely to disappear in the totally integrated pattern.[17]

---

learners, continuing and part-time students, and others participating in life-long academic study at university" (George, 1976: VI 6). In Professor George's proposal, the Henry Marshal Tory School would have some academic faculty associated with it, but nonetheless closer to the integrated college model (with some instructional research and development extras) than to the autonomous college model.

[17] An interesting commentary on some of the academic problems associated with full integration is to be found in M. Ferland, 1975: pp. 9-10. Mr. Ferland examines some of the negative consequences of trying to integrate adult part-time students with regular students.

Integration in the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology

As already noted, there has been some movement toward integration of part-time and full-time studies in the CAATs, although they were not included in the integration policy formulated by the provincial government. In a 1974-75 survey of part-time studies in the CAATs, Alan Thomas *et al.* (1975b) refer to CAAT administrators' prevailing view of the part-time student as an evening student who is normally handled by an administratively distinct Division of Extension or Continuing Education. Although some integration of faculty has taken place in the CAATs, it has been highly variable: the percentage of part-time continuing education (evening) courses taught by regular faculty was found by Thomas *et al.* to range between colleges from 25% to 100% of faculty involved. Since CAATs tend to concentrate heavily on vocational education and training, in some fields of study a measure of staffing flexibility is maintained by hiring experienced business and industrial personnel as part-time evening instructors (Thomas, p. 45). On the other hand, the integration of full-time and part-time studies at some CAATs has been proposed precisely on the grounds that, as community-oriented institutions, they should provide equal access to courses and programs for all interested members of the community irrespective of their full-time or part-time statuses (see, in particular, Humber College, 1973).

The limited extent to which the CAATs have moved toward integration of part-time studies has not gone uncriticized. For example, the provincial Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities (Interim Report 3, 1974) noted disapprovingly that "even though there may be four or five times as many part-time as full-time students, the structures, facilities, strategies and programs of the community college system have been designed primarily for full-time study" (p. 31). Two members of the

Committee in a separate brief referred to the colleges as "entrenched bureaucracies which have failed to carry out their mandate" of breaking down the academic walls between college and community (p. 37). The process of integration in the colleges appears generally to be less advanced than in the universities, although the available evidence is admittedly sparse and somewhat outdated.

University Admissions Policies and Standards

As we noted earlier, one of the criteria established by the Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities for the integration of full-time and part-time instruction was that "regulations for part-time students should be built into the overall academic structure in such a way that requirements for admission, promotion, degrees, etc. are identical as far as part-time and full-time students are concerned. Special regulations, for example, for mature students, should be university-wide or faculty-wide without respect to whether a student is proceeding towards a degree on a part-time or full-time basis" (Appendix II, p. 127). The main features of the mature student admissions regulations examined in Chapter 2 do not generally differentiate between full-time and part-time students, even though mature students may be required to take an initial qualifying course through what is essentially part-time study. Furthermore, although some *special student* schemes may require a number of courses on a part-time basis, regular student status may be granted either as a full-time or part-time student.

Beyond these special regulations, the admission of part-time students to degree programs generally falls under the university regulations which stipulate a minimum grade 13 average for all new undergraduate students. While the letter of these regulations is certainly maintained in admission procedures, the *actual* grade 13 average at which a high school graduate can gain admission to universities which admit part-time students to a college or through a division of extension will often be somewhat lower (although still at or above the established minimum average) than the grade 13 average required for admission to full-time studies. This discrepancy stems from the quotas many universities in Ontario have imposed upon the numbers of students which they will admit to full-time studies: in order to remain within these quotas, such institutions may have to establish an academic cut-off point on admissions which is in actuality far higher than the grade 13 average laid down in the regulations as the minimum average for admission. Since these admission quotas rarely apply to part-time students enrolling in colleges or through departments of extension, the grade 13 cut-off point for admitting these students is likely to be closer to the minimum average established by the university regulations.

The procedures described above may permit some high school graduates to enroll as part-time students at a particular university which would not admit them to a program of full-time studies. At the University of Toronto, for example, some colleges admitting only full-time students have established a cut-off grade 13 average for admissions at around 75% in contrast to Woodsworth College's requirement of 60%. Even though the abolition of external high school examinations has made the value of grade 13 averages as predictors of academic performance somewhat dubious, differences of this magnitude in admission standards force the question of the extent to which part-time and full-time students are comparable in terms of scholastic performance. This is, however, a question which is not only peripheral to the terms of reference of this report but also extremely difficult to answer with any degree of certainty. Although Chapter 4 touches briefly on the graduation rates of part-time students, here it suffices to quote from the wide-ranging survey of adult learning and adult learners by the Canadian academic J.R. Kidd. With reference to the performance of adult and part-time students in a number of countries, Professor Kidd notes that "evidence continues to mount, particularly from university extension departments, that marks of mature students in university courses are as high and often higher on the course examinations than those of the average of *regular* students, although as one might expect, *part-time students* obtain fewer places in the top percent of marks than do *full-time students*" (Kidd, 1973: p. 34).

New Course Structures, Course Patterns and Time-Tabling Arrangements

The current decline in full-time enrollments, in combination with the probable drop in the size of the 18-24 age-group during the 1980s and with the currently declining participation of elementary school teachers in part-time credit studies, is urging many universities to seek new ways of catering to the potential part-time buyer's market.[18] The term *buyer's market* is appropriate to the pressure placed on the provincial universities to "seek warm bodies" in order to be assured of a reasonably adequate level of operating income from the provincial government. While no suggestion is being made here that efforts to attract students to part-time studies are wholly, or even mainly, mercenary, one of the current realities of university affairs in the province is the existence of a form of *academic imperialism* whereby some universities seek to encroach upon the traditional domains and clienteles of other universities, especially through correspondence teaching. Such academic imperialism may, of course, be viewed with a certain measure of wry amusement. However, it is sometimes disturbing to, and resented by, the institutional victims of the imperialism, especially when accompanied by a publicity drive in the local newspapers which may serve to underline the limitations and inadequacies of the home university's part-time course offerings.[19]

---

[18] For example, the report calling for the establishment of the Henry Marshal Tory School at Carleton University (see footnote 16) is replete with references to changing enrollment patterns. It ends on the following note: "The impact of life-long learning on higher education is evident, and a shift from full-time students in early adulthood to more mature part-time learners is in prospect. This will become of major proportions in the 1980s when the number of young adults begins to decline. If Carleton participates in this movement, it will be returning to its original emphasis on part-time studies. If it does not, the next decade will surely see increasing financial difficulties and all that that implies. Carleton cannot afford not to act" (George, 1976: p. VII - 10).

Degree Structure–Establishment of the Credit System

The inequalities in the regulations governing full-time and part-time students, listed in the 1973 report of the McMaster Senate Committee, underline the complexities which would be involved in a thorough attempt to unravel all those regulations governing degree structures and course patterns which still, or no longer, differentiate between full-time and part-time students in the various universities of the province. Given such complexities, it is perhaps most useful to concentrate simply on one major change in degree structure which has been of benefit to the part-time student, namely, the general move in the universities to substitute a subject credit system for the old pattern of separating *general* from *honors* subjects.

Formerly, undergraduate students in many Ontario universities were *streamed* at a relatively early stage into general and honors degree programs within their chosen disciplines, and normally each stream pursued a substantially different program of studies. This structure inevitably discriminated against part-time students: in the context of unintegrated part-time studies, few academic departments were willing to undertake the long-term major effort which would have been required to attend to the needs of a very small honors stream of evening students. This system has recently been abolished in many universities in favor of one whereby the major differentiation is limited to the requirement that honors students take a fourth year of advanced studies in their subjects of specialization.[20] In the context of integrated evening courses, the recent system has undoubtedly proved something of a boon to academically ambitious part-time students—that is, academic departments are somewhat more willing to offer a small number of required fourth year courses at times which will suit evening students than they were previously to cater to a completely differentiated honors stream. On the other hand, as we shall see in Chapter 4, the practical—and occasionally formal—barriers for students who wish to complete honors degrees through part-time studies remain fairly formidable.

---

[19] This is a little-explored realm of interuniversity politics in Ontario, and hence its significance is not easily supported by documentation.

On-Campus Course Patterns and Time-Tabling

As in honors degree structures, a high degree of flexibility in course patterns and timetabling arrangements is important for part-time students who are fully employed during the day. All the universities of the province have traditionally met the needs of this group through evening courses during the fall and winter terms and summer session daytime programs which parallel the summer vacations of the school teacher clientele. However, the declining importance of this clientele has, as we have seen, led to a substantial drop in day summer session enrollments in many institutions. In view of the academic requirement that summer session students should be on the campus during daytime hours each weekday over a six-week period, this drop is not likely to be compensated for by increased enrollments on the part of other part-time clienteles.[21] This problem is partially responsible for the move to establish evening summer programs. Some features of these programs are outlined in the introductory section of this report. Their most important feature is undoubtedly the opportunity to study during the summer months (and sometimes during both the spring and summer terms) without interrupting normal daytime activities. Although the available information is limited, it would seem that summer evening programs are proving to be among the most successful of the relatively new course patterns established for part-time studies.[22]

---

[20] The first three years provide a largely common curriculum. In some universities, honors students are expected to take certain prerequisite subjects during their first three years of study, but these subjects are also open to students intending to complete a general degree only.

Many universities in Ontario have also made special timetable adaptions in order to provide new opportunities for part-time study. Recent, and proposed, developments at the University of Windsor are typical. In response to a series of questions from the author on this topic, the secretary to the Extension Division at the University of Windsor made the following observations:

> "One (program) which has been very well received by the public was the establishment of the *University of the Swing Shift.* In this program, part-time students who are on shift work or irregular hours (e.g. factory workers, hospital employees, media people, librarians, etc.) are able to attend university courses because the same courses are offered twice on the same day—once in the afternoon and again in the evening. Another innovation which we have just introduced is the *Full Course at Mid-Day*. This is a regular credit course held in the middle of the day for two or three hours so that housewives and

---

[21] It should be noted, however, that *regular* students are often attracted to summer programs, especially where the summer employment opportunities for students are limited.

[22] This point cannot be documented by enrollment statistics because most universities combine their day and evening summer enrollments for purposes of tabulation. However, the popularity of summer evening programs has been mentioned to me by a number of part-time studies administrators.

> others who cannot come in the evenings can complete a course by going to the university earlier in the day. We are also working on a plan whereby we hope to have a class at a downtown location such as the public library during the noon hour for business men and women who might be interested in taking a course during their lunch period."[23]

Programs of this kind, some of them designed to cater to the needs of highly specific clienteles, are becoming increasingly common. Of particular interest, from this author's perspective, is the recognition by some universities that there are certain groups of people—for example, mothers with children of school age—who might well find an evening course less easy to attend than one which is given at a specific time during the day.

Off-Campus Courses

Some of the courses offered by the University of Windsor are *off-campus* courses held at locations other than on the campus of the university itself. The principle of *taking the course to the student rather than bringing the student to the course* has long been established in Ontario higher education, and has enabled the universities and, more recently, the CAATs, to provide for the educational needs of teachers and other interested persons living in communities which would otherwise be deprived of access to higher learning. Traditionally, off-campus credit programs have been designed for people living in population centers some distance from the university campus. Recently, however, the term *population center* has included *place or area of work*, with courses offered in such settings as factories and commercial districts. For example, the University of Toronto offers a number of first-year courses in board rooms in various locations such as City Hall and the Toronto-Dominion Center in the downtown core of the city. The

---

[23] Letter from Ann Langmaid, University of Windsor, September 23, 1976.

Toronto-Dominion Center contains approximately 18,000 white collar workers, and there are perhaps another 30,000 to 40,000 people working in the immediately surrounding area. The courses are taught at the end of the working day (5-7 p.m.) and provide a means of bringing university studies to a large body of people who [illegible]ld otherwise be in home locations spread over a 40 [illegible]re radius.[24]

The movement of off-campus courses to the workplace reflects an important development in part-time studies in in Ontario. However, most off-campus courses are still of the more traditional community-based character. A survey of off-campus locations carried out by the Council of Ontario Universities (COU) and the Ontario Council for University Continuing Education (OCUCE) in 1972-73 ascertained that 11 of the 15 provincial universities were providing off-campus courses for degree credit. Lakehead and Laurentian, the two major universities situated in the sparsely populated north-western and north-central regions, conducted degree-credit courses (in some instances correspondence courses) either in, or near, 30 and 17 small population centers respectively. Despite the substantial scale of such off-campus offerings, it is unlikely that the student of any university in the province would be able to complete a major part of a degree program through such offerings—at least not within a reasonable period of time. Yet, as the survey report points out, "few areas of northern, southern, western and eastern Ontario" are not covered by the off-campus location of some Ontario university (p. 2); and off-campus courses do provide a valuable means of bringing university education to people located both in the more populous parts of Ontario and in the sparsely settled regions of the north of the province.

---

[24] As another example, in September 1976, Woodsworth College began offering courses to shift workers in the General Motors Plant at Oshawa by scheduling classes for 4-6 p.m. between shifts. According to the Principal of Woodsworth College this program is proving to be "very successful."

LIMITATIONS ON OPPORTUNITIES FOR CREDIT

In a recent review of continuing education programs in Canadian universities, the pro-vice-chancellor of Loughborough University of Technology in England pointed to two major facets of higher education in North America which facilitate access to part-time study, and which are less commonly found in universities and colleges in his own country. First is a high degree of flexibility in the scheduling of courses, including the provision of day, evening, and summer programs. Second, the credit system allows students to count successful completion of any approved course toward a degree qualification, and also to some extent permits students to *drop out* of and reenter study programs without incurring major penalties (Cannell, 1974: 13). These advantages (at least in terms of attracting students to part-time studies) should be kept in mind during the following discussion of less positive features of the structure of academic programs for part-time studies in the universities of Ontario.

Major Academic Limitations on Part-Time Opportunities

In their report on part-time study in Ontario higher education, Alan Thomas and associates refer to some of the inadequacies in the organization and administration of part-time studies at the University of Toronto which are listed in that institution's *Report of the Subcommittee to Advise* *on the Improvement of the Part-Time Degree in Arts and Science* (A. Thomas *et al.* 1975 (A): p. 13) and University of Toronto, 1972: pp. 4-6). The subcommittee's list is reproduced here, because it provides a useful synoptic view of the major problems which may confront part-time students. It is well to be aware, however, that since the report of the subcommittee substantial reforms have been made not only in the structures for part-time learning at the University of Toronto but also, through the medium of integration, at most other universities in the province.

The list reads as follows:

1. the range of courses outside regular day hours is too limited;
2. too few of the senior academic staff teach evening courses; overload teaching by junior faculty members predominates;
3. part-time students do not have an effective academic advocate;
4. there is a widespread belief that part-time students produce inferior academic work;
5. too few faculty are committed to part-time students;
6. part-time students rarely have social facilities available for their use;
7. instructional time in part-time classes is often curtailed;
8. academic counselling is inadequate and/or unavailable;
9. departments are insufficiently committed to part-time students; and
10. overload teaching prevents proper planning of courses.

Some of these conditions—for example, the problems of overload teaching—have clearly improved since 1972. Others, however, like the limited range of courses outside regular day hours, still pertain, warranting further commentary and a broader review of some of the limitations on the opportunities of part-time students which are enshrined within the academic regulations of the Ontario universities.

First, certain types of academic barriers, some formal and some molded by circumstances rather than by the dictates of university policy, place limitations on opportunities for part-time studies. Many of these academic barriers also exist in the CAATs for part-time students pursuing diploma programs (see Thomas *et al.*, 1975 (B): pp. 43-44).

In certain disciplines, the patterns of study associated with the attainment of degrees restrict the possibility of offering these degrees through part-time studies. For example, most professional degree programs in the paramedical and medical fields, as well as in some areas of technology, require on the job experience. Aside from the resistance of professional associations to part-time study in professional programs, the difficulties of incorporating this *on the job* element into part-time programs would in many instances be insuperable. Thus, as indicated in Chapter 2, students are largely excluded from qualifying solely through part-time studies for many professional occupations.[1]

In science and technology, an additional restrictive factor is imposed by the laboratory work required in undergraduate programs. The costs, including the payment of overtime rates to technicians, of keeping laboratory facilities open in the evening, deter some universities from providing evening courses for a potentially small number of part-time students in science and technology. Even when these courses are integrated, the rationale for teaching them during the evening hours still rests on their convenience for a possibly very small number of part-time students.

---

[1] No doubt the necessity of practical field experience in some degree programs helps to explain the attractions of cooperative programs in which students alternate periods of full-time study with experience in the field. Such programs are relatively uncommon in universities in Ontario, although the University of Waterloo maintains them in a number of disciplines, including engineering and architecture.

The above factors help to explain why the participation of part-time undergraduate students in science and engineering, as well as most professional programs, tends to be relatively small. On the other hand, the fact that the main enrollment of part-time students occurs in the humanities and social sciences may reflect student *preferences* as well as limited course choices in other academic fields. Another major type of academic barrier is referred to in Professor Kenneth Hare's *Submission* made to the University of Toronto subcommittee in 1972 (*op. cit.*). Two aspects of procedures in the University were, as Professor Hare commented, "clearly inequitable as regards the part-time student" (Hare, Appendix H.i):

1. Large differences exist between departments in the extent to which they are willing to offer good evening and summer programs; and
2. The extent of evening and summer course provisions decreases with increasing academic years, so that few third and fourth year courses are available. Hence a part-time student must compile his degree from a far narrower offering.

The main effect of these inequities, noted Hare, "is to render the degree program open to the part-time student much narrower and hence, noncompetitive with that open to the full-time student" (*op. cit.*: p. 4). His critical observations on this score were not necessarily aimed solely—or even primarily—at those University of Toronto departments and faculties which would have confronted severe practical problems in mounting substantial part-time programs. Rather, they appear to have been aimed at the arbitrariness of course offerings to part-time students in departments such as the humanities and social sciences where no such practical difficulties were involved.[2] Furthermore, since higher academic level courses are less available to part-time students, the courses required for the completion of an honors degree program might well not, for all practical purposes, be open to part-time students.

Although Hare's 1972 study of the University of Toronto may no longer pertain in that particular university, it nonetheless accurately describes the existing situation in many universities in the province. Part-time undergraduate students must frequently choose their programs from a relatively narrow range of courses offered by a few departments, because other departments are concentrating almost entirely on their full-time clienteles. Departments neglect evening and summer school teaching for a variety of reasons, including limited demand for certain courses by part-time students, heavy full-time student enrollments, and, last but not necessarily least, a belief on the part of department members that the essentials of their particular academic discipline can be adequately grasped only by students engaged in full-time study.

Although it is now fairly uncommon to find university regulations which overtly discriminate against part-time students (*i.e.* which are published in university calendars or in faculty or departmental requirements), some institutions still explicitly exclude part-time students from pursuing honors degree programs in certain disciplines. Some university faculties impose residence requirements which oblige their students to engage in full-time studies for a given period of time. Furthermore, the absence of formalized regulations in university calendars does not necessarily indicate a lack of discriminatory policies. The degree regulations of one Ontario university, for example, contains no specific statement (other than with reference to degree studies in music) which excludes part-time students from taking courses leading to honors degrees; the *extension session* calendar, however, gives prospective part-time students specific information only on the general B.A. and B.Sc. programs, not on honors degree programs. In this particular instance, the lack of any reference to the honors degree in the extension calendar may be taken as indicative of a general policy at the university that part-time students are, as the extension administrator informed this author, "normally barred from honors programs." Moreover, this administrator was unsure whether this restriction reflected a formal university policy or a lack of integrated fourth-year honors course offerings.

---

[2] For example, at Queen's University on-campus undergraduate evening courses offered in the fall and winter terms of 1976-77 by the Humanities and Social Sciences Departments range from 10 courses in sociology down to one course in politics. No evening courses are offered in commerce at Queen's University during the regular session, although it is proving highly attractive to part-time students at some universities.

The various factors outlined above constitute the major forms of academic barriers to full participation of part-time students in undergraduate studies. That they do indeed constitute major limitations on the opportunities of such students was confirmed by responses from the part-time administrators of twelve provincial universities to a series of questions put to them by the author, either in correspondence or personal interviews. A brief summary of the findings from this small-scale survey is outlined below:

> In general, part-time programs tend to be concentrated in the faculties of arts, science, and mathematics, with correspondingly little provision for part-time study in the major professional fields, engineering, and technology. Some universities do, however, offer introductory courses in engineering and technology through part-time study, while others provide for part-time study in a limited number of professional programs.
>
> Administrators at all of the universities claimed that it was possible for a part-time student to obtain a general degree in the arts and social sciences through part-time study; the great majority also claimed that a general

degree in math and science was accessible through this route. However, three universities explicitly noted that part-time students would find it difficult, because of university policy or a lack of relevant evening courses, to obtain a general bachelor of science degree. In addition, administrators at seven universities were explicit about "the more limited range of courses" open to part-time students in most academic fields.

Many administrators were uncertain about whether it was possible for students to meet degree requirements solely by taking courses taught in the evening without some additional study in daytime spring and/or summer courses. In some institutions even the more accessible general arts degree appears to necessitate spring or summer daytime attendance. Other institutions—for example, Woodsworth and Atkinson Colleges—provide opportunities for completion of general B.A.'s through evening studies only.

Despite the movement to the credit system (see Chapter 3), opportunities for part-time students to complete honors degrees, even in the humanities and social sciences, remain very limited. One university administrator claimed that part-time students at his institution were "normally . . . barred from honors programs," in another university "no part-time honors courses are provided." Other universities commented that "the scope of honors for part-time students is very limited." Two additional universities stated that part-time students were able to take honors degrees in the humanities and social sciences but not in natural science. Overall, only five of the 12 universities surveyed made no reference to restrictions of this kind. Generally, regulations excluding part-time students from honors programs are not explicit, and restrictions reflect the inability or unwillingness of universities to devote instructional resources to evening courses for which the anticipated demand is small.

These responses appear to justify the strictures of Kenneth Hare and others on the subject of the unequal educational opportunities for part-time students. Criticism is all the more apt, given the high degree of personal motivation and striving over a long period of years needed to attain a degree through part-time studies. More specifically, by successfully completing three courses each academic year, a part-time student could conceivably obtain a general arts or science degree from most Ontario universities in five years. Six or seven years is a more realistic average, so that in comparison with full-time students the proportion of part-time students who finally complete their degree programs are, not surprisingly, somewhat smaller. Even so, the limited amount of data available on degree completion rates for part-time students suggest that the final degree completion rate may approach 50% in an institution able to minimize the educational barriers to the completion of general and honors degrees through a teaching staff devoted solely to part-time teaching. Thus, of Atkinson College students at York University who first registered at the beginning of the 1962-63 and 1963-64 sessions, 35% had completed their degrees by the summer convocation of 1975.[3] Insofar as some students undoubtedly withdrew from the college in order to become full-time students or to enroll in part-time programs elsewhere, a 50% completion rate for students commencing their studies at the college is a likely estimate. Indeed, some of the 1962-63 and 1963-64 intake received degrees in 1975 after 12 or 13 years of part-time study—a revealing illustration of scholastic motivation and tenacity. Two students of Woodsworth College of the University of Toronto graduated in 1975 from a course of studies commenced prior to World War Two![4]

Financial Barriers and Student Financial Aid

The costs incurred in attending an Ontario university or college on a part-time basis may constitute an effective

---

3. Statistical material provided by Atkinson College.
4. Information provided by the Principal of Woodsworth College.

barrier to further studies to people from certain socioeconomic groups. Currently, most universities in the province charge tuition fees per intramural two-term undergraduate course within the range of about $115.00-120.00 plus certain incidental fees. Thus, a part-time student who wishes to pursue two courses during the regular session could expect to pay about $250.00 in fees, the cost of textbooks, of travel to and from campus, and possibly of child-care services. In his 1971 survey of part-time undergraduate students in Ontario, David Stager found that the students' mean total expenditures (based on a mean course load of 1.38 during the winter term and 1.43 in the summer term) were $266.00 (winter) and $275.00 (summer). This was equivalent to a per course expenditure of $193.00 for the winter term and $191.00 for the summer term (Stager, *op. cit.*, p. 31).[5]

Stager found that in order to finance these levels of expenditure most part-time students in Ontario relied heavily on current income and, where they were married, on support from the income of a spouse. Relatively few of the students surveyed received financial help from employers (only about 20% of those enrolled in the winter term and 14% of summer students). Support from public student financial aid schemes was negligible (Stager, pp. 32-41). The general provisions of the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP), which is the vehicle for channeling loan and grant assistance to full-time university and CAAT students in the province, do not cover those students who are studying on a part-time basis. The rationale behind this exclusion clause is not entirely clear: it would appear to be based mainly on an official belief that most part-time students have sufficient economic resources from personal or family income to meet the costs of further education.

---

[5] These costs do not include *foregone earnings* which, in Stager's sample amounted to an estimated mean total cost per course of $312.00 in the winter session and $315.00 in the summer session (Stager, p. 37).

The Government of Ontario's rigidity toward part-time student financing has been sufficiently relaxed since 1972 to permit the establishment of two small-scale financial aid programs—one consisting of bursaries and the other of loans—which are designed to provide limited financial aid to part-time students enrolled in university and CAAT credit programs. The Ontario Special Bursary Programme (OSBP) is specifically intended to aid only those part-time students who, in the words of the OSBP brochure, "are receiving social assistance, are unemployed, or have a low family income." While it does make available up to a maximum of $900 in nonrepayable aid per academic year to some part-time students who would otherwise have been faced by almost insuperable financial barriers to further studies—for example, to mothers supporting children on mother's allowance—the Bursary program looks more like a form of welfare support than of general student financial aid. The loan scheme, entitled the Ontario Student Loans Plan (OSLP), provides up to $900 per term in loans to part-time students, with a maximum loan of $4,000 over a three-year period. Loans are provided to part-time students on the basis of demonstrated financial needs—and, in the opinion of this author as well as a number of part-time students to whom he has spoken, the regulations which govern the awarding and repaying of loans restrict applications mainly to students with very pressing financial needs.[6] Both programs cater to very small numbers of students, and are

---

6. For example, a loan is given only after a detailed assessment of individual and family income. It becomes repayable in installments not later than six months after the conclusion of the academic period for which the loan was provided, or six months after the student withdraws from the course, or 3½ years after the start of the term in which the loan was first received. Since most part-time students take six years or more to complete a program, loan repayment with interest is likely to begin long before completion. Also, the interest rate, though not incurred until loan repayment begins, is "the prime rate plus one percent," which can hardly be regarded as preferential.

largely irrelevant to the great majority of the part-time constituency. In 1974-75, the Government made 579 bursary awards to university and CAAT students studying part-time for a total outlay of $139,000. Similarly, the number of loans through OSLP amounted to 301 in that year, for a total loan outlay of $93,000.[7]

The absence of a more generous financial aid scheme in Ontario doubtless inhibits participation in part-time studies for many potential students with discretionary incomes which are barely sufficient for essential living expenses and limited recreational needs. On the other hand, it would be simplistic to take the mainly middle class occupational characteristics of current part-time students as evidence of financial barriers against lower income groups. As mentioned earlier, many reasons other than those associated directly with the costs of undertaking part-time studies help to explain the appeal of such studies to relatively well educated people in white collar and semi-professional occupations.

---

[7] In addition, the Government provides a certain number of short-term loans to full-time and part-time students—616 loans totaling $273,000 in 1974-75. All statistics are unpublished data from the Ontario Ministry of Universities and Colleges.

TEACHING AT A DISTANCE[1]

The story of teaching at a distance in Ontario can be summed up in one word—correspondence. But the impressions created by this statement can be mistaken. The stereotype of faded notes accompanied by a reading list dispatched through an uncertain mail is false (all but the mail part); also, the predominance of correspondence does not mean that other modes have been ignored. On the contrary, after relative neglect correspondence teaching has undergone a renaissance in favor of newer technologies. This chapter aims to describe proposals which have been influential during the 1970s and to explain why correspondence is still predominant for teaching at a distance.

General Background

During the burgeoning enrollment prior to the early 1970s, programs for part-time studies had been treated as adjuncts to full-time programs, and suggestions about new ways of teaching had focussed on economies in the classroom. Such distinctive modes for part-time students as summer schools and correspondence work, which appeared to share in the general growth, were continuations of existing traditions. During this period, some observers pointed out that application of innovative technology could help to economize, improve learning, and increase participation in higher

---

[1] Written by Mario Creet, Office of Academic Planning, Queen's University.

102

education, but only by undertaking a fundamental reexamination of objectives combined with their systematic matching with outcomes.

The Open University of Britain became the visible embodiment of these principles, and was widely accepted as the model to examine, if not to follow. A 1970 study prepared by Bernard Trotter took as its point of departure these principles and this model. The study was meant to apply to higher education in Ontario as a whole, not just to the part-time sector. Indeed, the recommendations of the study were aimed at providing economically for further growth in full-time study, should participation rates continue to increase, without major expansion of existing institutions or addition of new ones of the same kind. At the time of the report in 1970, it was felt that the universities would be able to accommodate part-time students but could not absorb large increases in admission from the provincial secondary schools. Such increases, if they occurred, might well fall again for demographic reasons.

The Trotter report observed that demographic and technological differences between Ontario and Britain made it imprudent to imitate the Open University too closely. Unlike Britain, the population was much smaller and was concentrated in areas already well served by universities. The higher participation rate in Ontario meant that the unsatisfied demand for university education in the adult population would be much smaller; moreover, the opportunities for part-time study were by comparison already considerable and constantly improving. Nor did Ontario then have the delivery capabilities of the BBC.

Nevertheless, there was some justification for establishing an institution with the Open University's style of course development and instruction, although confined to three-year degree programs. The style and model were explicitly put forward by MacKenzie, Eraut, and Jones, in terms of the systematic development of curricula from first principles by course teams (MacKenzie *et al.*: 1970). Partly because the expected bulge did not take place, this proposal was ignored by the Ontario universities and the government, but it influenced the concept of the Open Academy. The other main proposal of the report was to establish a center for instructional development, a watered-down version of which was instituted jointly by the university collectivity and the government agency and the Ontario Universities Program for Instructional Development. The Program has had some success in disseminating imaginative methods among university teachers, but it has had no effect on teaching at a distance, a fact which is important in the present context.

The Open Academy

The reference point for almost all current discussion of part-time or adult or recurrent or lifelong education in Ontario is the Report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, entitled "The Learning Society" (COPSE: 1972).[2] Its influence arises less from the presentation of seminal ideas than from its capture of a widespread belief in education as the key to both personal development and the realization of social equity. Those who missed the chance of higher education the first time round, whatever the reason, should have a second chance, whatever their circumstances. A major thrust of the report was therefore towards giving second-timers a place of their own —the Open Academy. This was to be something like, but also different from, the institution suggested in the Trotter report, which in turn was also something like, but different from, the Open University in Britain.[3] However, both reports gave the same grounds for recommending a distinctly new institution: namely, that attention to the numerous demands of a community, however legitimate, could distract universities from their major academic objectives, and that methods of systematic course preparation exploiting the new media technology were unlikely to diffuse rapidly enough within existing institutions to satisfy identified or anticipated needs. The Open Academy was conceived as fulfilling three major functions:

---

[2] Another document, which is sometimes quoted as an "also ran," is the Report of the Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities of the Ontario Legislative Assembly. However, since it followed the COPSE Report in theme and sequence, little is gained in consulting the Select Committee's specific advice.

1. developing new programs suited to the needs of students not presently served in existing institutions;
2. providing a testing and evaluating service on request;
3. awarding degrees and diplomas on the basis of such programs or evaluation.[4]

The Open Academy was to be supported by augmented resources in public libraries and museums. "Moreover, it should broaden its outreach by entering into agreements with the Ontario Educational Communications Authority to develop educational programs at the post-secondary level for transmission to the far corners of the province by radio, television and cassettes."[5]

---

[3] The Trotter suggestion was deliberately vague, though not ambiguous. The relevant section began with a question mark and this quotation from Mallarmé:

To define is to kill
To suggest is to create.

The COPSE report was ambiguous, though not deliberately so; it simply gave little evidence of coming to grips with the paradoxes implicit in its recommendations.

[4] The actual text of these recommendations appears in Appendix IV.

[5] COPSE: 1972, p. 45. The Ontario Educational Communications Authority was (and still is) a broadcasting facility supported by the provincial government for the purpose of delivering educational programs to educational institutions and to the public at large. Although the OECA has grown in the interval, its broadcasts are still used formally chiefly in schools, and are received only in selected areas of the province, which exclude a quarter of the population.

The concept of lifelong learning is advanced as both a prescription and a right in *The Learning Society*. The report embodies a vision of society as it should be, without distinguishing between the role of education in bringing about such a society and the role of higher education in the ideal society. Thus, antagonisms vanish. Furthermore, the report endows the medium of television, favored by advocates of new technology in education, with the most significant potential for promoting access to higher education, i.e. with the capability of overcoming various barriers—distance, time, prior level of education. The report crystallizes a number of commonly associated ideas—lifelong learning, individual fulfillment, part-time study, teaching at a distance, "media-based" instruction—around the proposal of the Open Academy. Hence there emerges the equation between lifelong learning and teaching at a distance (with particular emphasis on "media-based" techniques) which has become embedded in public discourse.

The evolution of this equation suggests at one and the same time why the hopes embodied in the Open Academy have become practically synonymous with teaching at a distance and why there is likely to be a gap between expectation and possible achievement. The implication of two assertions made by COPSE serve to clarify:

a. "society should broaden its concept of learning to include a wide range of life experiences," (p. 40);
b. "degrees and diplomas should be awarded both for learning undertaken within institutions and for comparable achievement without" (p. 50).

In plain language, this says a) that people learn in settings other than formal institutions and they deserve credit for what they have learned, and b) that people should be given the credit they deserve and awarded degrees on the strength of such credits. Now, if formal knowledge and accreditation for its acquisition are to preserve meaning and value, they cannot be mixed indiscriminately with whatever each individual makes of "life experience." Nor does the insertion of "comparable" save the argument; clearly tension would arise between the individual's self-evaluation and any conceivable criteria which could be publicly administered. Implicit in these recommendations is rejection of the university as an institution based on the organization of knowledge in an evolving structure of disciplines. Hence, the COPSE report seemed to support the image of the Open Academy as almost an antiuniversity. Also, although the Commission had several studies already at its disposal and prepared many more, it failed to acquire descriptive information which might have offset the hazards inherent in the Commission's chief method of operation, i.e. public hearings at which individuals and groups presented briefs or voiced their wants. The Commission thus put itself in the position of articulating and advocating the wants of a large number of very diverse interest groups. Even if the Report is valuable as a social document, it is unreliable as a guide to policy.[6] The major omission in the Commission's work was a means of comparing the stated wants with some objective (or, at any rate, alternative) assessment of need.

Closing the Gap

A recent study of the demand for part-time learning in Ontario (Waniewicz, 1976), does provide answers which were not available before. The purpose of the study is descriptive rather than explanatory. Based on a sample of individuals surveyed by an interview technique, the data permit estimates of "demand" in the psychological rather than the economic sense, and create three categories: learners, would-be learners, and non-learners.

Excluding those who are full-time students at some institution, just over half of the adult population (defined as

---

[6] It will be evident that the criticism here is at odds with the glowing evaluation quoted in the introduction to Chapter 2 (Lowe, 76: p. 28). The difference can be attributed, I suspect, mainly to the perspective: mine is that of someone seeking guidance on implementation if the recommendations were to be adopted.

18 to 69) are not interested in learning, i.e. in a deliberate effort to acquire knowledge or skill either formally or by self-directed study. Of the remainder who are interested, about two thirds are engaged in some learning activity and one third would be if they could. The fact that half the adult population is interested in more learning supports the strong demand for adult education; the fact that half are emphatically not interested is an equally powerful rebuttal of excessive enthusiasm. Narrowing the focus, it can be estimated that 150,000 adults are engaged in degree-credit work and another 70,000 or so in "adult education," for a total of 220,000 people other than full-time students in the universities. This is less than five percent of the adult population, but it is nevertheless a large number.

However, it is the accreditation picture which is most revealing: first, the study reconfirms the well-substantiated discovery that "the more credits people have, the more they seek new credits;"[7] second, the study "shows that large proportions of those interested in personal development, hobbies and recreation, home and family, and other educational purposes having very little to do with formal steps, levels, grades, etc., would still like to have some kind of official recognition for their learning effort."[8] Here are two brute facts which are sobering for COPSE stipulations of suiting "the needs of students not presently served" and providing "a testing and evaluation service."

There is one last shibboleth to cast down. Waniewicz asked all learners (excluding full-time students) and would-be learners which method of learning they most preferred for their particular subjects of interest. The responses are shown in Table 11.

---

[7] Waniewicz: 1976, p. 33. This way of putting the matter is somewhat ambiguous. The converse is more strictly accurate: the fewer credits people have, the less likely they will be to seek new credits.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 105. There is an important distinction, in other words, between "credit" as recognition of desert and "credit" as an element of accreditation.

TABLE 11
Preferred Modes of Study

	% Learners		% Would-be-Learners	
Face-to-Face Modes				
Attending regular classes	56		61	
On-the-job training	14		11	
Interest or action groups	6		7	
Short Conferences	7		5	
Sub-total		83		84
Distance Modes				
Correspondence	4		6	
Educational TV	1		2	
Educational radio	1		1	
Sub-total		6		9
Private and Other Modes				
Sub-total		11		7
Total, percent		100		100

The data in Table 11 show the force of traditional methods. Nor do age groups and genders alter the basic pattern. For degree credit work, regular classes are favored ten to one over teaching at a distance. Furthermore, correspondence is the preferred mode for distance teaching twice as often as educational programs on TV and radio. The survey data suggest a range of 15,000 to 20,000 potential number of learners through teaching at a distance in Ontario. But there are reasons for believing that such an estimate is too low: as data already show, preferences tend to endorse familiar modes; moreover, the old stereotype of correspondence is still prevalent and may have been reinforced by the questionnaire.[10] If these factors came into play, the potential might be considerably higher than estimated. Even so,

---

[9] Waniewicz, 1976, p. 100. Data from Tables 83 and 84 have been rearranged in this presentation.

[10] The survey questions grouped audio-cassettes with radio, leaving the respondent to infer that correspondence meant the old-

possible candidates for teaching at a distance are likely to be many fewer than had been envisaged as participating in the Open Academy.[11] The Open Academy has not been brought into being. The recent evidence has led to more modest expectations for teaching at a distance. With sights lowered to this level, how much of a gap is there between what could be and what is?

Current Activities

If the term "teaching at a distance" is confined to formal university work in which the student and instructor are not present face-to-face in classroom, laboratory, or studio, most courses can be placed in the category "correspondence." This term does not imply that the sole medium of communication is the written or printed word; there is a prescribed curriculum of study based on texts or reading lists and a mixture of written material, telephone, audiocassettes, and slides, the exact composition of which can vary greatly. With minor exceptions, broadcast programs have had no role in university teaching at a distance.

The scale of correspondence work is shown in Table 12. The numbers are unbelievably small, even when compared with the potential of 20,000; in terms of total university enrollments they represent less than one percent of the undergraduate degree work at Ontario universities. Annual growth rates are, nonetheless, around 10% and rising; it is the fastest growing sector in the university system. On the other hand, certain changes are occurring. Three universities, the University of Ottawa, Queen's University, and the University of Western Ontario have had long traditions in

---

fashioned stuff. Thus the questions might have exerted a slight although quite unintentional, bias against correspondence.

[11] For reasons to be developed later, TV and radio do not appear to have a large role in teaching at a distance by universities. As to the scale envisaged for the Open Academy, COPSE was not specific. Its eye was on the adult population as a whole, a large segment of which was expected to take advantage of the services of the Academy.

TABLE 12
Enrollments in Correspondence[1] in Ontario Universities

University	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77[2]
Guelph	34	23	8	–	–
Laurentian	–	46	178	231	325
Ottawa	440	302	330	244	113
Queen's	1,009	875	765	837	657
Waterloo	801	1,219	1,437	1,921	2,714
Western	126	149	131	238	254
Total	2,410	2,614	2,849	3,471	4,063

1. Undergraduate enrollments in courses during the fall/winter session. Enrollments have been adjusted for term length (half-session) courses.
2. Data for 1976/77 are estimates only.

Source: Ministry of Colleges and Universities, Statistical Services Branch.

work by correspondence courses. The University of Waterloo began in 1968 by offering a few courses in physics, then added more in the physical sciences and mathematics and finally in humanities and social sciences. By 1974 full-bodied programs could be undertaken by correspondence work. Waterloo had already overtaken the traditional universities in 1973, and by 1975 had eclipsed them to such an extent that they were considering whether they should abandon the field. Indeed, there is evidence that Ottawa and Western have transferred their priorities in part-time work to vigorous development of face-to-face teaching in off-campus locations. It is uncertain what Queen's will do. The other growth of interest is at Laurentian. Remote from the other universities, new, bilingual and, by virtue of its location, dedicated to the service of its hinterland in the North, Laurentian appears in a real sense to be fulfilling the vision of COPSE, albeit in a humble way.

The only institution offering degree-credit work through broadcast media is the Open College at Ryerson College in Toronto. A few courses for radio delivery have been developed there; these are broadcast on FM (also available on cassettes at specified centers in libraries) and hence limited to the Toronto region. These courses, in biology, psychology, and the Canadian novel, have a small core of students registered for credit, some registered auditors who receive supporting material, and a much larger occasional audience, estimated to be 15,000 at its maximum. The courses are insufficient to constitute a program by themselves; they are designed to fit as entry points to programs at Ryerson and elsewhere. A major aim of the Open College, at least for the present, is to attract to higher education precisely those individuals who feel inhibited by their lack of "credits" and by their supposed incapacity for academic work. This focus, along with other programs aimed at students not otherwise served, makes the Open College/Ryerson the closest thing there is to the Open Academy advocated by COPSE.

The distinction of Waterloo seems to be its success in evolving a systematic approach to teaching at a distance in which there is both breadth of program and consistency of method. Spoken instruction recorded on audio-cassettes serves both for the lecture material and for the tutorials, which provide comments on the written assignments sent in by students. The instructor substitutes tapes for the words spoken in the classroom, and slides for the visual displays; the personal quality of these methods benefits students both in the classroom and at the receiving end of the tape. Tapes and slides are also used at other universities; in addition, individual and group communication by telephone and weekend seminars are used to promote personal contact between instructor and students. These techniques are not generally used at Waterloo. A significant difference at Waterloo is the more consistent methodology than elsewhere. At other universities instructors in the correspondence program need not examine the consequences of the particular combination of media they adopt; they also lack an organized focus by means of which experience can be exchanged.

At Waterloo the department (or faculty, in the case of mathematics) provides a viable grouping of courses and supervises the quality of its offerings. As a consequence, a balanced program in Arts and Science has been developed. A student may obtain a three-year B.A. or B.Sc. entirely by correspondence; in the case of science courses requiring laboratory work, a two-week program is to begin shortly. These degrees may also be obtained by a combination of on-campus and correspondence work. The significance of this arrangement is that both the correspondence work and many of the full-time programs in science, mathematics, and commerce are on trimester timetables. It is expected that in the near future four-year degrees may be obtained by similar combinations of correspondence and on-campus work.

The crucial difference between Waterloo's and other correspondence programs lies not in the regulations permitting certification by correspondence but in the breadth of higher level courses available. Table 13 shows the number of courses offered at Waterloo in 1974/75 compared with Ottawa, Queen's, and Western. The figures support (but do not prove) the statement about the distribution of courses, and it is confirmed by the respective calendars. Waterloo has not only covered the fields of the natural sciences and mathematics which the others have left bare, it has already provided a broader distribution within the social sciences than the others. Moreover, as most of the program's enrollment and course growth are now occurring in the arts subjects, it is quite likely that before long the Waterloo correspondence program will have an amplitude which will make it unique in Canada.

TABLE 13
Courses Offered in 1974/75

	Ottawa	Queen's	Waterloo	Western
Modern Languages	3	6	9	9
Humanities	36	13	17	10
Social Sciences	7	7	28	4
Natural Sciences	2	0	38	0
Mathematics	10	2	20	0

One further significant difference is in the organization of the correspondence programs at Waterloo. The program has a director who controls the budget, and contracts program provisions with subject departments, and course arrangements directly with each instructor. Because it receives a major portion of the "revenues" from correspondence courses, the budget is relatively large, and a significant part of the funds can be put toward development costs by staffing the program at "bargain prices." The alternative—a budget that other sectors of university work appear to underwrite—holds little hope of funding systematic development of correspondence work. This subject is treated further in Financial Implications of Integration (Appendix III).

It would be a mistake to conclude that Waterloo has discovered a "shoestring" alternative to the expensive course-team approach of the Open University in Britain. First, there has been considerable trial and error at Waterloo which would not have been feasible within the scope and planning time of the Open University. Second, for the purposes of rapid and reliable development, the courses at the Open University were prepared by teams of several academic and technical people, each of whom was put in the unaccustomed (and highly beneficial) situation of submitting to collective judgment on course content and values. And third, the programs of the Open University had to be publicly acceptable—academically respectable while in open view—and instructors had to be persuaded to teach courses which they had not put together. These are very stringent requirements. At Waterloo, as at other universities generally, teaching is "private," i.e. the instructor and class are a closed, autonomous unit, and the instructor is essentially the judge of the course contents and standards.

The course-team approach has been applied through the the support of the Ontario Universities Program for Instructional Development, but as yet little of such work has diffused into correspondence programs. In developing the broadcast program of Open College/Ryerson, the College has independently applied the course-team approach and encountered the expected problems of obtaining instructors who are willing and able to adapt to the conditions imposed by the medium and who will risk the exposure it entails. The latter is perhaps the greater barrier. Until a partial transformation from the "private" to the "public" mode of teaching occurs in regular intramural work, programs broadcast through TV or radio will have little significance in teaching at a distance. Moreover, although such a transformation might be justifiable on other grounds, to advocate it for the sake of promoting the use of broadcast media in teaching at a distance is misguided. Other significant drawbacks to broadcasting—loss of flexibility, high initial cost, geographic limits on reception—could be offset only if the potential clientele were much larger than it seems to be. Hence, it is not surprising that the contribution of OECA to degree programs in Ontario has been peripheral: TV Ontario broadcasts in 1976/77 form part of one course at Open College/Ryerson, one at Laurentian, and their run of Sir Kenneth Clark's *Civilization* for enrichment of one correspondence course at Waterloo.

Concluding Remarks

Does the success of Waterloo's correspondence program go hand-in-hand with a lowering of standards? That question cannot be answered on the basis of direct evidence because there is no way of systematically monitoring what occurs in any classroom. Indirect evidence, however, points to the inappropriateness of this common question. The correspondence courses appear to cover the same content as campus courses and require equivalent student performance. Moreover, the University of Waterloo enjoys a high reputation for its work in applied mathematics and related fields: it is in precisely these areas where its initial course development and enrollment growth occurred. The academic profession would discredit itself if any of its members seriously entertained the suggestion that highly regarded departments would deliberately choose to risk their reputation. Seen in this light the University of Waterloo can be fairly cited as uniquely successful in the teaching of science and mathematics at a distance.

Among the prospects for teaching at a distance are further development of correspondence, perhaps mainly at Waterloo. Broadcasting media are unlikely to perform more than an occasional part in such development. One mode of teaching at a distance which has remained virtually untapped is supervised independent study. A relatively large proportion of learners in the Waniewicz survey indicated a preference for learning on their own. There is no *prima facie* reason why independent study and accreditation cannot be combined by having the student work under the guidance and judgment of an academic supervisor.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing review of policies and practices in the organization of part-time undergraduate studies in Ontario has provided few, if any, examples of strikingly new educational modes for part-time students. No equivalent will be found in Ontario of the major break with traditional structures and modes of learning which occurred with the establishment of Britain's Open University. Yet, it can be reasonably argued that the lack of major new developments of this kind is not a function of educational conservatism but, rather, the consequence of the already existing opportunities for part-time and adult studies in Ontario. Reviewing educational policy in Canada in 1975, the OECD external examiners observed that "without doubt, educational institutions in Canada appear to have been exceptionally successful in establishing programs that attract adults, and meet some of their needs" (Canadian Association for Adult Education 1975, p. 5). Again, during a visit in February of 1977 to Queen's University, the vice-chancellor of Britain's Open University, remarked on various occasions that the Open University was established to provide a "second chance" for adults in a society in which the conventional universities had traditionally catered to a small full-time academic elite. In his opinion, an equivalent institution was not needed in Ontario precisely because the conventional institutions were substantially more liberal than in Britain in the opportunities for study which they offered to both full-time and older part-time students.

These points aside, however, the impact of actual and predicted changes in full-time patterns of enrollment has stimulated many Ontario universities to give more attention to the search for new clienteles—with, inevitably, the effort to attract older part-time students. This change has also been stimulated in recent years by the decline in the importance of the traditional school teacher clientele among the existing part-time undergraduate population. In the years ahead, the universities in the larger urban centers may be catering to an ethnically and intellectually more diversified part-time population than in the past. In turn, universities will need to reevaluate the content and delivery systems of instructional programs available to part-time students. Since some of the potential new clienteles—for example, upwardly mobile first-generation immigrants—may be academically less prepared to meet the demands of university education than the school teacher clientele, such a reevaluation may be essential to avoiding a decline in degree completion rates by part-time students in future years.

Many of the developments which have taken place in part-time undergraduate studies in Ontario—for example, the substantial long-term growth in part-time university enrollments—have occurred in the other nine provinces of Canada. With few exceptions, institutions of higher learning in all provinces have shown an increasing interest in providing wider educational opportunities for part-time students. It is regrettable that no federal or interprovincial coordinating body is specifically concerned with the collection of up-to-date information on major developments in the educational sphere in the ten provinces. The lack prohibits even a cursory analysis of organizational and instructional developments in part-time studies across the nation. For this reason, a perspective on national developments in part-time studies must be given by a limited sample. Two significant developments in the part-time studies field elsewhere in Canada—the establishment of Athabasca

University in Alberta and of the University of Quebec in the province of Quebec—highlight the general ferment of ideas, policies and practices in part-time and continuing education throughout the country.

Athabasca University is unique in being the only undergraduate degree-granting institution which provides the greater part of its instruction through independent study after the fashion of the Open University. The institution was founded in 1970 with the support of funds from the government of Alberta and registered its first students in 1973. Any individual 18 years of age or over may apply, and no formal academic admission requirements are imposed. In addition to the printed materials which are usually prepared by the University's course teams, admitted students receive assistance from local course tutors and participate in student discussion groups. Furthermore, the University provides a certain amount of television programming in support of the printed materials.[1]

Athabasca University is similar to the Open University in several aspects of its educational philosophy and educational delivery systems. Although its precise role as a new university in the province was unclearly defined and in flux for some years, some of its current functions—for example, acting as a production and marketing center for learning materials and, on occasion, as a service center for instructional services to other universities and colleges (L.W. Downey Research Associates 1975: pp. 15-16)—also characterize the Open University. On the other hand, the resemblance between the two institutions can easily be overstated: Athabasca University remains small in scale—only about 1,200 students were enrolled in its courses in 1976-77—and the list of course offerings limited.[2] Part of

---

[1] Most of the information given here on Athabasca University is taken from the Athabasca University Calendar 1976-77 and from *The Athabasca University Pilot Project: Report of an Assessment* (Edmonton: L.W. Downey Research Associates, 1975).

[2] The University Calendar for 1976-77 lists eight courses.

Athabasca University's mandate is to provide credit toward degrees which may be granted elsewhere, and also to act as a *credit coordinating service* for students with diverse qualifications who are interested in working toward a university degree. This flexibility in the opportunities to gain degree-credits is not necessarily apparent in a simple evaluation of its course offerings, and may help to explain why the Alberta government, after some years of uncertainty about Athabasca's future, granted the institution a permanent status in 1975, despite the fact that it is not currently able to deliver undergraduate services as economically as the conventional universities in the province.[3]

In contrast to this recent and, as yet, small-scale development in Alberta, the recent changes to facilitate access to university studies for older adults in the predominantly Francophone province of Quebec have been both large in scope and deeply influenced by major changes over the past two decades in social structure and sociopolitical ideologies. The OECD examiners noted the changes as indeed major: "an entire educational system has moved from a closed, fragmented and elitist structure to a unified and open one, from an archaic narrowly-centered classical curriculum to a modern and comprehensive one, from a church-dominated restrictive philosophy to a laicised and permissive one; this move has accompanied but has also triggered a movement of the whole society which in the process has been profoundly changed" (*op. cit.*, p. 5).

---

[3] The Downey Research Associates report quotes a total direct cost figure per student as $1,275 per course for Athabasca in 1975 as compared with $784 for the other universities of the province. This figure does not, of course, include students' foregone earnings, which the report estimates as nil in the case of Athabasca and $1,000 per student per course in the cases of the other universities. However, foregone earnings aside, the institution presents an interesting casestudy of the economic problems of distance learning—that is, the initial cost of preparing courses tends to be high, and in order to become relatively cost efficient, a distance learning institution must spread these costs over a relatively large student body (see L.W. Downey Research Associates, pp. 11-12).

In this process of educational change (which, incidentally, has directly influenced the Francophone majority of the province far more than the Anglophone minority[4]), a major generation gap in educational accomplishments has opened between older Francophones subjected to the Church-dominated and rigid educational system which existed prior to the early 1960s and younger, relatively better educated Francophone men and women. This, in addition to some belief that participation in postsecondary education has tended to be smaller in Quebec than in many other provinces, constitutes a major reason for the emphasis on providing part-time educational facilities for older adults.[5]

In practical terms, the trends and beliefs outlined above have manifested themselves in the formation of a multicampus university which focuses its efforts heavily, although certainly not exclusively, on the education of older part-time students. This University—the University of Quebec founded in 1968—consists of ten semi-autonomous institutions, including four university campuses strategically situated in the urban areas of Montreal, Rimouski, Trois Riviéres and Chicoutimi, and a *Teleuniversity* which provides a limited number of distance education courses mainly through the means of correspondence units, local group participation in discussions and workshops, and audio-visual aids.[6] The strategic role of the University of Quebec in the provision of degree studies for part-time and older students can be gauged by the fact that in 1974-75 14,943 full-time and 23,087 part-time students were attending the University.[7] Of all these students, 60% were over 25.[8] The attraction of the University for older part-time students stems from both the *outreach* of the institution to population centers which were previously lacking significant postsecondary facilities and from the administration's effort to integrate adult part-time students into the regular program schedules of the University.

---

[4] The Protestant school system of Quebec, which most Anglophones attend, provided a full range of services through primary and secondary school long before equivalent services were available in the Francophone Roman Catholic school system. For example, the first Francophone Roman Catholic secondary school curriculum was not approved until the 1950s.

[5] The report of the University of Quebec working group looking at the prospects for a *Teleuniversity* commented to the effect that in 1968-69 the proportion of the 18-24 age group enrolled in postsecondary education was 8.6% in Quebec compared with 11.4% in Ontario and 14.9% in Alberta (Université du Québec 1972). It should be noted, however, that such calculations depend on the definition of a *postsecondary student.* This author calculated a far higher participation rate for Quebec in 1966-67—10.6% of the age group in universities and 15.2% in all types of postsecondary institutions. The difference would appear to lie in the exclusion of CEGEP students from the University of Quebec figures (see Pike, 1970).

In some quarters of Quebec, institutional specialization in part-time higher education has a long history. Sir George Williams University, which merged with Loyola College in 1974 to form Concordia University, long performed this role for the Anglophone minority of Montreal. However, the efforts of the University of Quebec are clearly focused on the 80% of the provincial population which is Francophone, and it must therefore be seen as a major *second chance* educational institution for the substantial numbers of French-speaking adults who, within the ethnic stratification of Quebec society, have generally been less educationally privileged than the Anglophone minority. Certainly the establishment and growth of the University of Quebec is one of the most significant institutional developments in the field of part-time degree studies to have occurred in Canada during the past decade—not least, of course, because of its indirect connection with the rise in national and political consciousness among the Quebec Francophone population.

---

[6] Some other major institutional components of the University of Quebec include *L'Ecole de Technologie Supérieure* which awards bachelor's degrees in technology; *L'Ecole Nationale d'Administration Publique* which offers higher degrees in public administration; *Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique* which provides higher degrees in fields of study linked to the economic development of Quebec. The Teleuniversity was established in 1972 for an initial five-year period in order to develop and experiment in teaching at a distance. Up to 1977, it offered three major course programs, two of which were mainly concerned with the professional upgrading and certification of teachers of mathematics and French, and the other—*Man and the Environment*—focused mainly on various aspects of Quebec society and history. However, four new courses were added in 1977 (see Université du Québec. *La Télé-Universite: L'Education pour tous à Domicile*, Quebec, 1976).

[7] *Commonwealth Universities Year Book*, 1976: p. 1040.

[8] From a supplement of the newspaper *Le Devoir*, 19th August, 1975.

The two case studies cited here could be supplemented by many other examples of major participation on the part of Canadian institutions of higher learning in part-time undergraduate studies. The report of the OECD external examiners provides a summary of Canadian involvement overall in the education of part-time school, university, and college students:

> The number of part-time students (working towards degrees or for credit) at the (Canadian) universities rose from 86,000 in 1966 to 178,000 in 1975, that is more than doubling in less than ten years, and the number of mature students is also estimated to have multiplied many times over. It is estimated that the total number of part-time students in continuing education courses in 1973-74 was over 1.3 million persons, or more than 5 per cent of the entire population of the country (p. 8).

The latter statistic of 1.3 million persons includes participation in credit and noncredit programs and in courses offered by school boards and departments of education as well as by universities and colleges. Nonetheless, it remains gratifyingly large.

APPENDIX I
Total Enrollments

Full-Time and Part-Time Credit and Noncredit Secondary Studies
Ontario 1973-74

Institutions	Programs	Enrollments[1]
Universities	Regular full/part-time credit	204,698
	Summer school	59,284
	Noncredit	63,081
	Subtotal	327,063
Colleges	Full/Part-time credit	116,053
	Formal noncredit	58,925
	Subtotal	174,978
	Grand Total	502,041

[1] Unduplicated students for regular part-time credit and summer school.

Sources:
As in Tables 2-4. Noncredit enrollments taken from Statistics Canada, *Enrollment in Continuing Education Programmes,* Dec. 1975; *op. cit.*

APPENDIX II

Criteria for the Operation of Integrated Part-Time Study Programs in Ontario Universities

In his letter to the universities outlining grant support for the coming years, the Minister of Colleges and Universities stated:

> "The noticeable trend towards complete integration of full-time and part-time instruction has now convinced the Committee (on University Affairs) that the allocation of funds on the basis of an increased equivalency factor would result in the better distribution of grant support (for part-time students) provided that each university adopts an integrated program of instruction wherein the quality and character of programming for part-time students is equivalent to that offered to full-time students, and is incorporated into the actual academic structure, including the scheduling of classes."

Accordingly, any university in Ontario wishing to qualify for grants calculated on a conversion factor of five, rather than on six as is currently applied, will be expected to meet the following criteria:

1. **Faculty and Teaching Staff**

   Instructors of part-time students should be full members of the appropriate department and faculty with the full privileges and responsibilities of any regular or part-time faculty member. Appointments to the faculty, terms and conditions of work including remuneration, should be consistent within the institution irrespective of whether a faculty member is teaching full-time or part-time students. Payment for services rendered should be based upon a regular teaching load, without regard to the time of day at which courses are taught.

2. **Academic Structure**

   The development of courses of study for part-time students should be handled within the normal university structure under the direction of the Senate or appropriate academic governing body. In universities where a college system is operative, it may be deemed appropriate to establish or maintain a special college having specific responsibility for part-time students.* In such cases, the college itself, as well as the members of the teaching faculty and students, should have the same relationship to the university, including participation in the governing structure, as would prevail with any other college.

3. **Admissions, Examinations and Academic Regulations**

   Regulations for part-time students should be built into the overall academic structure in such a way that requirements for admission, promotion, degrees, etc., are identical insofar as part-time and full-time students are concerned. Special regulations, for example for mature students, should be university-wide, or faculty-wide, without respect to whether a student is proceeding towards a degree on a part-time or full-time basis. While it is recognized that some special academic regulations may be required particularly to accommodate part-time students, these should be developed and administered by the same bodies and in the same manner as those responsible for all academic regulations of a similar nature.

4. **Scheduling**

   The university should schedule its classes on an integrated extended day program which allows part-time students to enroll in classes which are offered either in the day or evening hours and would allow full-time students to attend classes specifically scheduled for part-time students when practical.

---

*Note that it is the opinion of the Committee on University Affairs and the Ministry of Colleges and Universities that the organization of part-time programs at Atkinson College generally reflects the intention of this statement and would therefore qualify for grants calculated on a conversion factor of five.

5. General Notes

a. It is agreed that the criteria noted in the foregoing do not apply to work done through correspondence courses.

b. It is also agreed that overload teaching is not precluded during the transition period and in special circumstances.

c. Lastly, in the event that there may be questions of interpretation with respect to the eligibility of universities for increased weighting for part-time students, it is agreed these questions will be referred to the CUA/COU Joint Subcommittee on Finance/Operating Grants, for advice.

Issued September, 1972

APPENDIX III
The Financial Implications of Integration

The integration of part-time with full-time undergraduate degree credit work in Ontario is taking place in a political and economic context that bears importantly on its financial implications. At the beginning of the decade, courses for part-time students were either given in evening classes on campus during the winter and in concentrated summer schools during July and August, or taught in off-campus locations and through correspondence. Most of these courses had a fixed stipend, whether paid to regular faculty as an addition to their annual salary or part-time (and non-faculty) appointments made specifically for the occasion. The budget for the stipends and authority for the appointments were within a university agency such as a department of extension or a center for continuing education. (A notable exception to these arrangements was Atkinson College at York University.) The course offerings were designed generally to meet the needs of their major constituencies, predominantly school teachers and the business community.

Early in the 1970s, the Commission on Post-Secondary Education animated public discussion of educational policy with advocacy of lifelong learning. Seen by the Commission as the key to the fulfillment of every person, whatever his or her present level of education, lifelong learning was to be the instrument to mitigate inequalities of age or social background; educational opportunity would come by way of a vastly expanded scope for part-time studies and self-directed work accredited by existing or new institutions. At the same time, and in uneasy partnership with this social vision, the Commission was concerned with expenditures on higher education, which had been rising rapidly even on a per student basis and showed no indication of slowing down. Such escalation seemed to point to considerable waste and featherbedding in the universities, and some, if not all, members of the Commission were enthusiastic supporters of the Minister's slogan for 1971: "more scholar for the dollar." Improving the efficiency of universities was aimed initially at class size, then shifted to faculty effort and extended use (over the day and across the year) of university facilities. By "rationalizing human resources" and "reorganizing the academic year," universities could achieve the dual goal of opening doors to all potential students and reducing costs per student, thus solving the political problem and eliminating the economic problem which were at the forefront of the provincial government's concern over higher education in Ontario.

Such arguments were not confined to the Commission nor were they unique to Ontario. They were given practical application in the changes then taking place in the status of part-time students. The government ministry was prepared to accede to the universities' request to raise funding of part-time students to a level equivalent to that of full-time students provided that equity also prevailed in their academic treatment and that the total allocation to universities would not increase. The government could solve the economic problem by fiat, but the political problem—narrowed down to academic equity—could be approached only by imposing criteria which were expected to improve the lot of part-time students. In popular belief, their stigmata had been the special conditions of teacher appointments and the separation of day and evening timetables; as a consequence, barriers to day classes and stipends for instructors became the symbols of discrimination to be eliminated by "integration."

Thus, "integration," in the discussion which follows, is to be understood as the parallel actions of consolidating day and evening timetables and reassigning all overload and occasional teaching to the regular work of full-time or part-time faculty responsible for the main programs of a university.[1] Thus, Atkinson College at York University, which has consistently aimed at equal but separate treatment of part-time students, as well as other similar institutions in this respect are not integrated in the sense defined, and the financial implications of integration are not likely to be applicable. The word "financial" is used here to suggest a more restricted relationship between the allocation of priorities and the flow of money than is customarily described by the word "economic," which bears a connotation of optimal allocation of resources. The contention here is that, having swept the economic problem under the rug and then attempted to resolve the problem of equity by regulating the process rather than by specifying the outcome, the provincial regulatory agencies have unintentionally encouraged narrow financial considerations to steer developments.

The academic plans and decisions of a university cannot avoid being colored by the relative level of funds in each year.[2] Since 1971, total allocation each year for higher education has been decided on grounds other than enrollment and has been related to total enrollment secondarily. However, the distribution of funds among the universities has continued to be based on the 1967 enrollment formula which for the purposes of this discussion has not changed significantly except for the redistribution of formula support between full-time and part-time undergraduate studies during the years 1971/72 and 1973/74. Also, in real terms (i.e. constant dollars allowing for inflation) the grant subsidy per student has declined more or less steadily during the decade and the total subsidy has gradually levelled off. Thus, the Ontario universities are now in a zero-sum situation: one institution can gain only at the expense of another by the strategy of increasing its share of total enrollment.

---

[1] Also, as of 1976/77, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities abolished the distinction between full-time and part-time students and now counts all students in terms of "fiscal full-time equivalents."

[2] As 95% or more of university support in Ontario is under state control through a formula which subsumes government grants to institutions and student fees, other sources of funds are ignored in this discussion.

Against this background, let us inspect the possible effects of the twin aims of integration, looking first at the reassignment of duties from special appointments paid by stipend to the normal workload of regular faculty. The process of costing university programs has the discipline neither of art nor of science; nevertheless, some broad statements can be made reliably. The overload stipend is typically about a tenth of average annual salary, while an undergraduate course might compose a third of a normal teaching load. Thus, staffing part-time programs by regular teaching assignment will cost about three times as much as through overload stipends.[3] Though benefits will accrue from the change, they must be demonstrably high to justify the higher cost. However, the greatest objection to the change comes from the potential loss of flexibility. When teaching contracted for the occasion is replaced by teaching incorporated in regular departmental assignments, two separate shifts are involved: 1) the shift from contracts with no continuing commitments to appointments with some expectation of continuity (either term or tenure), and 2) the shift from the agency responsible for extension work (the department of extension, center for continuing education, etc.) to the subject department in terms of power over the appointment and control of what to offer and when. The crucial consequences of this become clear when the second aim of integration—the consolidated timetable—is examined.

---

[3] Although full-time faculty members do more than teach in classes, they also incur additional overhead and service expenditures which do not pertain to payment by stipend, so that both the other duties and the additional expenses may be ignored in this approximation.

The merging of day with evening classes and winter with summer classes involves much more than putting them together in the timetable and in the calendar. A whole set of attitudes, regulations, and constraints has to change. The potential increase of opportunities for both full-time and part-time students through removal of barriers and effecting the same academic standards for both categoreis of students is the best feature of integration. In themselves, these changes carry no financial implications: they illustrate the importance, suggested above, of the specification of outcome as preferable to the Ministry's regulation of process. On the other hand, the merging of classes can also lead under certain conditions to unequal opportunities for differkinds of part-time students.

The distinction between part-time and full-time studies has generally been based on the amount and timing of the student's academic workload; at the same time, the typical part-time student has been seen as an older person with another occupation, more specific career ambitions, and more disposed to choose job-related courses than the full-time student. Until recent years, these assumptions and the actuality matched fairly well: indeed, the archetypical part-time student was the school teacher. There is now, however, the part-time student who is like the full-time student in virtually all respects except academic workload, as well as the full-time student in an accelerated or enriched proprogram who is counted as "part-time" during summer programs. Both these "quasi-full-time" types are seldom distinguished when reference is made to the growth of part-time enrollments, nor is it generally recognized that the traditional participants in continuing education are tending to diminish. Though precise data are not available, the general change appears to be toward a less homogeneous part-time student body. The transfer of teaching instructors with continuing appointments, the merging of timetables, the shifts in the part-time student body are the structural factors which impinge on decisions about programs for part-time students. Another major factor is enrollment, which changes from year to year.[4]

As already shown, enrollment is related in only a peripheral way to the total subsidy, which does not depend on the proportion of part-time enrollments. At the institutional level, because a zero-sum situation exists for the province as a whole, each institution will attempt to maximize revenues while minimizing costs. Part-time enrollment will tend to be treated as a variable. In those institutions where integration prevails, part-time enrollment will appear as a high cost element because, other things being equal, part-time students are seen to incur higher administrative costs than full-time students in proportion to the revenue they bring. Conversely, institutions (or faculties within them) which have escaped integration of instructors will find the margin of revenue to expenditure attractive and are likely to encourage vigorous growth in part-time studies. If an integrated institution has declared a ceiling on full-time enrollment, it may be tempted at first to maximize enrollment through growth of part-time studies; if new appointments are necessitated by such growth, the additional costs will outweigh the expected gain in revenue, and the institution is likely to plan growth only in selected areas where spare capacity exists. The selected areas may not coincide with student demand.

---

[4] Enrollment is a portmanteau term signifying subtly different things depending on its reference. It is applied here in terms of its potential effects going from the total enrollment in higher education to course enrollments.

Many interesting possibilities can occur at the micro-level of courses. The "paradigm" is a course taught in separate day and evening classes; combining both into one evening class achieves a clear saving. This is the case which is trotted out as conclusive during partisan argument: unfortunately for advocates of integration, the case is a rare one. Far more common is the case where the combined enrollment after merging day and evening classes justifies holding as many classses as before; under these conditions, integration of faculty (i.e. replacement of stipend by one third of average annual salary) would jump the cost of the evening class. The added cost could be offset by reducing the number of classes, a likelihood only if the course enrollment were to decline. Another likely case, the simple shift from day to evening, provides a clear gain for the part-time student at no added cost. In general, the merging of timetables has been of benefit to part-time students provided they are within reach of the campus and make the same choices as full- and quasi-full-time students. If they are to be offered face-to-face classes at a remote location, the integration of faculty inhibits staffing because costs go up and incentives go down. An alternative might be "teaching at a distance" by other modes, but that is a subject of its own. What if the demands of full-time and of part-time students compete for resources which cannot satisfy both? Whose needs will be met first? Once integration has occurred, the power of decision lies within the subject department, where it would tend to favor full-time students within the discipline. In a situation of declining enrollment, a department might be disposed to seek out a part-time clientele, but success is likely to be contingent on developing new, initially costly, approaches to the subject.

Beyond the annual support for operating expenditures in universities, funds for facilities, both new and renovated, are provided through separate capital support arrangements. For a brief period, from 1968 to 1972, capital support was determined by a formula analogous to the operating one. In 1972 the formula was suspended and funds for major new building were cut back; since then, approval of money for the considerably reduced building program has reverted to a project by project basis. While it was in effect, the formula carried the implicit assumption that no additional facilities were required for part-time studies: it was based exclusively on actual and projected enrollments of full-time students. Distinct facilities, like those of Atkinson College which was built under the earlier regime of project approval, were not encouraged by formula funding. Nor has there been room for change in this respect during the "freeze." Thus assimilation of facilities for part-time programs into a common space was already implicit in capital funding at the start of the decade, and events during the decade further reinforced the interstitial quality of traditional part-time programs, i.e. the propensity to slot them into unused capacity (evenings, week-ends, summer).

Although there may appear to be little cause for concern over a policy which reinforces what seems simply to be a natural practice, there are hidden constraints. First, the superficial view sees only the classrooms and laboratories, which compose less than half of a campus, and ignores offices which take an almost equal portion of the space. The use of offices cannot be slotted in the same way as classrooms. Extension programs typically suffer from a chronic shortage of such space, and the process of "integrating" faculty aggravates the problem now that each regular faculty member must have a separate office. Moreover, if the demand for part-time programs were to change in ways that could not readily be accommodated in the traditional pattern of evening and summer work, additional facilities would have to be rented (either on or off campus) at an extra cost for the operating budget for these programs. These then appear far more expensive than full-time programs whose capital and maintenance costs are hidden by virtue of being contained in separate budgets. (Attempts at full program costing have so far not been successful and have usually done more harm than good.) Thus, capital support policies have a tendency to reinforce the undesirable steering effects implicit in the method of integration.

Given the circumstances of funding and enrollment which now exist and are likely to prevail for the rest of the decade, the financial implications of integration tend to disadvantage rather than benefit the part-time student or to inhibit the anticipated gains. The situation might have been avoided if the accent had been on equality of treatment rather than identity of means. It is noteworthy that institutions which initially attempted integration are now following the example of Atkinson College, which was granted special exemption from integration, at least to the extent of a deliberate accent on distinctive treatment. In defense of its policy makers, integration of means could have worked better had the introduction of the policy not coincided with the abrupt end of the era of rapid university expansion and of increasing funding per student.

If it is true that integration of faculty (in the special senses of eliminating payment for overload by stipend and leaving course decisions to subject departments) is an obstacle to supplying the needs of part-time students, then it should also be true that satisfaction of these needs implies nonintegration (i.e. payment by stipend and sharing of course decisions by extension and subject departments). The example of correspondence courses at the University of Waterloo demonstrates that such is the case. This program is under a separate director who controls its budget—a major portion of the revenue (fees plus government subsidy) deriving from course enrollments—and who invites departments to contribute a viable grouping of courses taught by the department faculty. At the same time, the setting of performance criteria and arrangements for delivery of the course proceed directly with each instructor, who is paid a stipend on the basis of overload assignment out of the program's budget. It is the combination of these provisions that matters: correspondence programs elsewhere may have some but not all of these elements and hence lack either the means of control or the provision of incentives. The successful models are in part-time programs at Atkinson College and Correspondence at Waterloo. The latter is better suited to innovative development under economic constraint—the mode of the entrepreneur—than the autonomous arrangements prevailing at Atkinson College, which could not now be established without special funding arrangements. Furthermore, for correspondence work the space needs are relatively so small that the steering effect of capital grants policy is inoperative.

The vigorous pursuit of programs for part-time students is clearly incompatible with integration that accentuates procedural rather than substantive equality. Procedures tend to solve problems which belong in the past and restrict options for dealing with the present. The economic problem facing part-time studies today is how to finance the development of new programs out of revenues which are based on the norm of equilibrium conditions. The problem of development costs is a general one, i.e. it is not peculiar to part-time work; but very few new full-time programs are now being instituted or increased to any substantial extent. In other words, the face of the part-time student is at present very mobile while the full-time (and quasi-full-time) student is seen as unchanging (except for growing a little bigger or a little smaller). It is the constant face which policy makers in the Ontario universities and government agencies and their critics have in view. So long as reforms rest on immobilization of the part-time face, the gap between intention and achievement will persist. To the extent that the Ontario universities have succeeded in evolving successful strategies to encourage lifelong learning, they have done so by retreating from or avoiding the restrictive implications of integration.

APPENDIX IV

Extract from the Report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, 1972, p. 173

Recommendation 23

There should be established within the open educational sector an Open Academy of Ontario. It should:

1. Provide educational services at the post-secondary level by
   - a. developing new programs suited to the needs of students not presently served in existing institutions by using the educational resources of the open educational sector as well as those of the other sectors, and
   - b. entering into agreements with the Ontario Educational Communications Authority to develop appropriate post-secondary educational materials and programs that would be offered by radio and television;
2. Provide a testing and evaluation service available to the people of Ontario; and
3. Award degrees and diplomas formally earned in its own programs or on the basis of criteria established for services provided under 2.

Recommendation 24

To provide supporting materials for courses given by the proposed Open Academy of Ontario, libraries beyond commuting range of post-secondary educational institutions should, where needed, be given special grants to expand their holdings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anisef, P. and Jansen, C. *Atkinson and York Graduates.* York Graduate Study, Vol. 3. Toronto: Institute of Behavioural Research, York University, 1971.

The Athabasca University Pilot Project–Report of an Assessment. Edmonton: L.W. Downey Research Associates, 1975.

Blyth, J.A. *A Foundling at Varsity: History of the Division of University Extension, University of Toronto.* Toronto: Privately published by the School of Continuing Studies, University of Toronto, 1976.

Canadian Association for Adult Education. *O.E.C.D. External Examiners' Report on Educational Policy in Canada.* Toronto: C.A.A.E. and University of Toronto Students' Administrative Council, 1975.

Cannell, R.L. *Continuing Education: Canadian Universities.* Privately published, 1974.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *Toward a Learning Society.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

Clark, E., Cook, D., Fallis, G. "Socialization, Family Background and the Secondary School," *Socialization and Values in Canadian Society.* Ed. R.M. Pike and E. Zureik. Vol. II. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

COPSE. *The Learning Society: Report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario.* Toronto: Ministry of Government Services, 1972.

Council of Ontario Universities and Ontario Council for University Continuing Education. *A Study of Aspects of the University Extension Function in Ontario.* COU and OCUCE, 1973.

Department of the Secretary of State, Educational Support Branch. *Some Characteristics of Post-Secondary Students in Canada.* Ottawa: Thorn Press, 1976.

Ferland, M. "L'Education des Adultes dans les Universités du Canada." *Canadian Association of University Teachers' Bulletin.* Vol. 23, no. 5. March 1975.

Forcese, D. and Richer, S. *Issues in Canadian Society.* Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

George, D.A. *A Report on Continuing Education and Related Matters at Carleton University.* Ottawa: Carleton University, March 1976.

Hare, K. *Submission to the Subcommittee to Advise on the Improvement of the Part-Time Degree Programme in Arts and Science.* Toronto: University of Toronto, March 1972.

Hecquet, I., Verniers, C., Cerych, L. *Recent Student Flows in Higher Education.* New York: I.C.E.D. Special Studies, 1976.

Illing, W. and Zsigmond, Z.E. *Enrolment in Schools and Universities 1951-52 to 1975-76.* Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1976.

Interim and Final Reports of the Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities. Toronto: Government of Ontario, 1974-75.

Kidd, J.R. *How Adults Learn.* New York: Associated Press, 1973.

Kubat, D. and Thornton, D. *A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974.

Lockhart, A. "Future Failure–The Unanticipated Consequences of Educational Planning," *Socialization and Values in Canadian Society.* Ed. R.M. Pike and E. Zureik. Vol. II. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

Lowe, J. *The Education of Adults.* Paris: The UNESCO Press, and Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976.

MacKenzie, N., Eraut, M., Jones, H.C. *Teaching and Learning: An Introduction to New Methods and Resources in Higher Education.* Paris: UNESCO and the International Association of Universities, 1970.

McMaster University. *Report to Senate from the Ad Hoc Senate Committee on the Organization of Undergraduate Education.* Hamilton: unpublished, May 1973.

Molyneux, F. "International Perspectives" in Houghton, V., Richardson, K. *Recurrent Education.* London: Ward Lock Educational, 1974.

Ontario Economic Council. *Issues and Alternatives 1976, Education.* Toronto: O.E.C., 1976.

Ontario, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Colleges and Universities. *Review of Educational Policies in Canada-Ontario* (a report to the O.E.C.D. team reviewing educational policies and practices in Canada, 1975. Limited distribution.

Ontario, Ministry of Education. *Statistics.* Toronto: 1974.

Ontario Council for University Continuing Education. *Integration–Where Are We Now?* (notes circulated to OCUČE study group, Fall, 1975. Limited circulation).

Pike, R.M. *Who Doesn't Get to University–and Why.* Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1970.

Pike, R.M. "Review: A Degree of Difference." *Teaching at a Distance.* No. 6. Open University, June 1976.

Porter, J. "The Democratization of the Canadian Universities and the Need for a National System." *Minerva.* Summer, 1970.

Porter, J. *The Vertical Mosaic.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Porter, M., Porter, J., Blishen, B. *Does Money Matter?* Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1973.

Rapport du Groupe de Travail sur La Télé-Université presenté à l'Assemblée des Gouverneurs. Vol. 1. Québec: Université du Québec, 1972.

Report of the Principal's Committee on Financial Constraint. Kingston: Queen's University, 1975.

Rossides, D. "The Functional Adaption of Canadian Education," *Social and Cultural Change in Canada.* Ed. W.E. Mann. Vol. II. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970.

Schade, G. "Notes on Recurrent Education for Women." *Higher Education,* Vol. 1, no. 4. Amsterdam: Elsevier, Nov. 1972.

Stager, D. *Who are the Part-Time Students: A Report on a Survey of Part-Time Bachelor Degree Students in Ontario Universities.* Toronto: Institute for Policy Analysis, University of Toronto, 1972.

Statistics Canada. *Education in Canada: A Statistical Review for the Period 1960-61 to 1970-71.* Ottawa: Information Canada, 1973.

Statistics Canada. *Education in Canada: A Statistical Review for 1971-72 and 1972-73.* Ottawa: Information Canada, June 1975.

Statistics Canada. *Enrolment in Continuing Education Programmes 1973-74.* Ottawa: Service Bulletin, Education, Science, Culture Division, 1975.

Statistics Canada. *Advance Statistics of Education 1975-76.* Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975.

Sutherland, D.B. *Speech in Proceedings of Dialogue 74.* Kingston: Queen's University, unpublished, 1974.

La Télé-Université: L'Education pour tous à Domicile. Québec: Université du Québec, 1976.

Thomas, A.L. et al. *Part-Time: The Student and the Method: Review of the Literature and a Selective Annotated Bibliography on Part-Time Study.* Toronto: Department of Adult Education, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975A.

Thomas, A.L. et al. *Part-Time: The Student and the Method: An Exploration of Official Information Sources from Ontario Post-Secondary Institutions with Reference to Undergraduate Part-Time Study.* Toronto: Department of Adult Education, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975B.

Trotter, B. *Television and Technology in University Teaching.* Toronto: Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario and Committee on University Affairs, 1970.

Trow, M. "Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education," *Policies for Higher Education.* Paris: O.E.C.D., 1974.

Turner, R. "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System," *Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems.* Ed. E. Hopper. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971.

University of Toronto, Subcommittee to Advise on the Improvement of the Part-Time Degree Programme in Arts and Science. Vol. I: *Report of the Subcommittee.* Vol. II: *List of Appendices to the Report of the Subcommittee.* Toronto: University of Toronto, March, 1972.

Waniewicz, I. *Demand for Part-Time Learning in Ontario.* Toronto: Ontario Educational Communications Authority and Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976.

Watson, C. *New College Systems in Canada.* Paris: O.E.C.D., 1973.

A White Paper on the Total Integration of Full- and Part-Time Studies at Humber College. Toronto: Humber College, 1973.

Zsigmond, Z. "Population and Enrolment Trends 1961-2000." *Canadian Journal of Education,* Vol. 1, no. 1. 1976.

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

NAOMI E.S. McINTOSH
The Open University, England

with

ALAN WOODLEY and MOIRA GRIFFITHS
The Open University, England

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We have been fortunate in having the constructive advice and criticism on a personal basis of many people and wish to thank particularly Sir Toby Weaver, Guy Neave, Leslie Wagner, and John Melhuish. The manuscript has been typed and retyped by Jenny Morton and Marjorie Dell to whom we also owe many thanks.

CONTENTS

The Growth of Higher Education 151

Access for Whom? 179

The Open University and Younger Students 219

Current Developments 231

GROWTH OF HIGHER EDUCATION

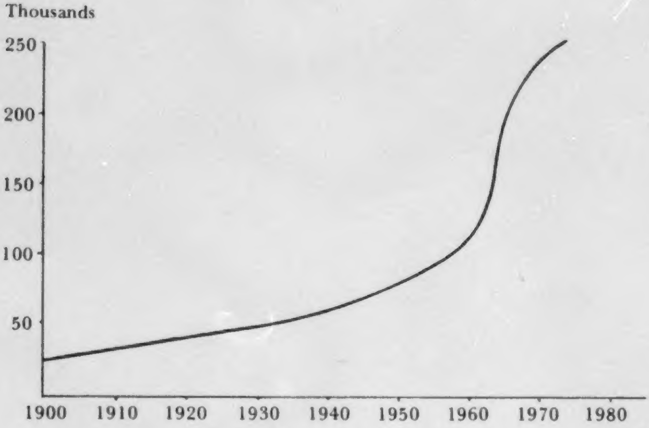
Higher education in Great Britain has a long history. Twenty-three of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges were founded before 1500 and the ancient Scottish universities also date from the 15th and 16th centuries. Access to higher education, however, has always been restricted to a tiny minority; change has been slow, and expansion a relatively recent occurrence. The "University of London" was set up in 1825, and officially became University College in 1836. In the meantime, Durham was founded in 1832 as a backlash to "that godless institution in Gower Street." By 1900, there were still only 20,000 full-time students in universities in England, Wales, and Scotland. This century, and in particular the period after the Second World War, has seen a revolution in higher education. The number of places in universities has expanded enormously (Figure 1), but this has been matched if not surpassed by developments in other sectors of higher education.

In this paper we wish to look at the post-1945 expansion of higher education, concentrating particularly on the last fifteen years. Basically our aims are to chart the nature and causes of the expansion, to examine how increased access has affected and been affected by government policy, to determine whether the expansion in numbers has led to a greater *equality of opportunity,* and to look for indicators of future developments in this area.

For our present purposes we have adopted the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) definition of what constitutes "higher education."[1] This led us to consider students in universities, colleges of education, polytechnics, colleges of further education, etc. who were studying at the appropriate level. We decided, regretfully, that we had to confine this study to England and Wales. It was felt that the inclusion of Scotland, with its separately published statistics and different school exam structure, would complicate the analysis unnecessarily. Unless otherwise stated, therefore, figures given relate to full-time students in England and Wales.

We begin with an overview of recent changes in the structure of higher education.

FIGURE 1
The Number of Full-Time Students in Universities
1900-1974
(England, Wales, and Scotland)



Source: The Robbins Report and Department of Education and Science (hereafter referred to as DES), *Statistics of Education*, Vol. 6.

The DES produces an annual series of *Statistics of Education*, updated each year, His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London. In this paper they are identified by volume number rather than year since data on trends come from several volumes.

The Changing Face of Higher Education[2]

Before the Second World War virtually all higher education took place in universities. The students were mainly fee-paying upper- and middle-class children with "matriculation," the equivalent of six Ordinary level passes in the General Certificate of Education (GCE) today. There was also a small number of "scholars:" working-class children of exceptional ability who had been awarded a university, state or local authority scholarship by achieving an unusually high standard in the Higher School Certificate (the equivalent of very good Advanced level passes in GCE today).

Teachers' training colleges trained bright working-class children, especially girls, to become teachers of the mass of ordinary children in state schools. This type of training was designed to be vocational as opposed to academic and courses lasted only two years. Teacher training continued predominantly in this form until the introduction of the three-year course in 1960.

Between the two world wars a number of technical colleges developed courses for full professional qualifications in engineering and commerce, and for external degrees of the University of London. These courses tended to be developed in large cities and, since they were part-time, catered for some of the students who could not afford to go to a university.

The 1939-45 war was inevitably a major pressure for change. The Further Education and Training (FET) scheme, whereby discharged ex-servicemen were offered free places to pursue degree courses, created a demand which the universities were unable to meet. This unsatisfied demand was mainly in the applied sciences and technology and as the government saw the need for this type of education for industry, they allowed FET grants to be used elsewhere. This encouraged the growth of degree courses in the technical colleges.

The Percy Committee, set up to investigate the need for higher technological education, reported in 1943[3] that it envisaged the expansion of courses in technical colleges as well as universities. The government did not, in fact, act on this report. It may be that they regarded the growth of higher education in the technical colleges as a temporary measure until the universities were able to meet the demand for places.

During the early 1950s there was a fall-off in demand for higher level courses in the technical colleges, and they turned more towards other types of students. In particular they met the demands of students from overseas and those transferring from schools to complete studies at sixth form level. These pre-university courses gave work to the colleges but they had more important effects. First, they provided a source of students from which the advanced, degree and diploma courses could be sustained. Second, the colleges by their initiative in meeting their difficulties suggested to government officials that major developments in higher education could be carried out through local authority institutions.

Until the mid-fifties then, it was felt that expansion in higher education could and should take place within the university sector. Then the climate altered. The pace of technological change was accelerating, particularly in the U.S. and Russia, and the need to modernize British industry was becoming apparent. An increased demand for higher education was also being envisaged. This, it was realized, would inevitably come in the mid-sixties simply as a result of the postwar bulge in the birthrate. However, even in the fifties some increase in demand was already being felt. The reform of secondary education under the 1944 act was beginning to take effect and the number of people qualified to enter higher education was increasing. Some local authorities were using their new powers to make available grants to students to cover both fees and maintenance. There was a growing feeling among working people that their children had a right to higher education and, in this time of national prosperity, it had become less essential that children should start work at the earliest opportunity.

The immediate postwar expansion in universities took place mainly within the existing framework. Several prewar university colleges such as Leicester, Reading and Nottingham were granted full university status, but Keele (founded in 1949) was the only new university created during this period, although pleas for expansion were made by other places such as Sussex and Canterbury. The University Grants Committee (UGC) at that time did not feel that new establishments would be able to guarantee the standard of their degrees unless they were attached to older universities.[4] It became evident by 1958 that the expansion deemed necessary could not be achieved within the existing universities. In that year the establishment of the University of Sussex was approved and in the following years those of East Anglia, Essex, York, Kent, Warwick, and Lancaster.

Alongside these developments, and as a further attempt to obtain the required growth in higher education, came a major result of the 1956 White Paper on technical education:[5] nine of the 24 colleges already recognized as doing university level work were designated as Colleges of Advanced Technology (CATs). They were to be institutions with a national catchment and would concentrate on university level work. The remaining 15 were to become regional colleges, retaining a wide range of work with full-time and part-time students.

As part of the same policy the National Council for Technological Awards (NCTA) had also been set up in 1955. This council was to award students the Diploma of Technology on completion of authorized courses in authorized colleges. The award was designed to be of honors degree standard and was indeed accepted as such by the universities, industry, and the civil service.

The next major landmark was the *Report of the Robbins Committee* which was set up in 1961 "to review the pattern of full-time higher education" and "to advise on what principles its long-term development should be based."[6] In the Report the Committee envisaged what then appeared to be an amazing growth in the years to come. It proposed that the CATs should become technological universities and this took place in 1966. The regional colleges were to remain untouched. As the committee was considering *full-time* higher education, and as it felt incompetent to deal with professional education in general, it excluded much of the regional colleges' work, thus making incomplete any recommendations as to their future. However, it did recommend that they remain under local authority control and that they should continue to provide higher education for full-time and part-time students. Their provision of full-time higher education was seen as only a temporary measure pending the adequate provision of university places, although a small number of the colleges might be given university status by 1980.

The main benefit for the regional colleges was derived from the Report's recommendation that the NCTA should be converted into the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) which would be able to grant degrees in all modes of study. It was designed to concentrate on colleges which were clearly en route to full university status but its impact was to be much wider than that.

The Robbins Committee had recommended that colleges of education should come under the financial and academic control of the universities. This recommendation was superficially attractive but politically unrealistic. With the great increase in public expenditure on higher education which the implementation of Robbins would necessitate, it was inevitable that a greater measure of public control over universities would be demanded. The achievement of this control would be difficult enough in itself; to transfer the large and critical sector of teacher training from local authority control to university control at this stage would only increase the difficulty. Furthermore, neither political party could afford to antagonize the local authorities by diminishing their role in teacher education.

The new Labour government of 1964 was confronted with the problem of paying for the expansion of higher education at a time when education could no longer be insulated from the general economic crisis facing the country. Moreover, the necessary expansion was proving very quickly to be much greater than the conservative estimates made by Robbins. In 1965 it was announced that colleges of education were to be put on an emergency footing to undertake maximum expansion with the minimum of resources, and to double the number of teachers in training, then 60,000, by 1973. Although existing universities were allowed substantial growth, there were to be no *new* universities within the next decade and universities would not be permitted to incorporate regional colleges. The growth of higher education was to be in the technical college system under direct public control. In 1966 came the White Paper[7] which proposed the incorporation of some 68 colleges of technology, building, art and commerce into 30 new polytechnics and the concentration of courses of full-time and part-time higher education mainly in these centers. However, polytechnics were not designed to emulate the university pattern but rather were to be "comprehensive" institutions offering courses on many levels. Anthony Crosland, in his 1965 Woolwich speech, had made it clear that he expected the new institutions to fulfill a three-fold role.

> "First, they will provide full-time and sandwich courses for students of university quality who are attracted by the more vocational tradition of the colleges and who are more interested in applying knowledge to the solution of problems than in pursuing learning for its own sake . . . .

> "Their second function lies outside the scope of normal university work. They have the primary responsibility for providing full-time and sandwich courses which, while falling within the higher education field, are of a a somewhat less rigorous standard than degree level courses . . . .
>
> "Third, there are tens of thousands of part-time students who need advanced courses either to supplement other qualifications, or because for one reason or another, they missed out on the full-time route."[8]

The rationale for setting up the binary system has been documented elsewhere.[9] Its growth has been rapid. Over the last decade the number of students studying full-time advanced courses in further education has more than trebled. The policy continued to receive support from both the Labour government which initiated it and the following Conservative government of 1970. Margaret Thatcher, then Secretary of State, is recorded as describing the development of the polytechnic policy as both "consistent and bipartisan."[10]

There were, of course, practical grounds for this: salaries were generally lower in polytechnics and staff-student ratios worse. A fair number of existing buildings were available. The expansion of polytechnics, therefore, was seen to be a cheaper proposition than that of the universities, though this cost advantage is now less clear since salaries in polytechnics are frequently higher than in universities and their terms and conditions of service as, if not more, advantageous.

By 1973 all 30 polytechnics had been finally designated. And so full-time higher education outside the university sector was finally legitimized and recognized as more than just a temporary measure prior to further university expansion. The so-called "binary system," which in fact had existed for many years, became official policy. The colleges of education remained somewhere in the middle, still under local authority control but with close connections with the universities. It is now, of course, the turn of those colleges to undergo major reorganization. While it is too early to assess the outcome, we shall look at some of the implications of this reorganization in the final section of this paper.

It is, therefore, within the structural framework discussed so far that we now proceed to look in detail at trends in access to higher education in recent years.

Overall Numbers in Higher Education

Between 1963 and 1973 the numbers of full-time students in higher education in England and Wales rose from 174,000 to 408,000—an increase of 135 percent. During this period the numbers of 18 year olds in the population actually fell and so in a quantitative sense it is correct to say that access to higher education had greatly increased. However, the growth was not uniform over all sectors, nor was it constant throughout the decade.

The greatest increase took place in the further education sector where numbers rose by 235 percent (Table 1). The numbers in teacher training rose by 140 percent and in universities by only 104 percent. The low base on which the rate of increase is calculated tends to emphasize the growth of the further education sector, but it was nonetheless substantial.

Table 2 shows the annual growth rates in each sector. The peak rate of growth was in 1966 which corresponds with the arrival of the peak in 18 year olds from the post-war bulge in the birthrate. (In the case of the universities, the percentage for 1966 was affected significantly by the designation in that year of the Colleges of Advanced Technology.) Growth rates have declined since then to an almost "steady-state" in 1973. In the heyday of the expansionist sixties, such an early levelling off was not anticipated. We must now examine what has led to this apparent plateau in higher education.

TABLE 1
The Number of Full-Time Students in Higher Education
England and Wales
1963-1973

	Universities	Teacher Training	Further Education	Total
1963	98,431	47,228	28,000	173,659
1964	104,524	53,436	33,270	191,230
1965	113,428	61,434	39,630	214,492
1966	141,220	72,167	46,970	260,357
1967	154,964	84,373	54,490	293,827
1968	168,016	95,731	65,387	329,134
1969	177,668	104,309	75,215	357,192
1970	184,304	107,278	81,588	373,170
1971	191,552	109,773	85,383	386,708
1972	197,181	112,295	91,369	400,845
1973	200,999	113,521	93,742	408,262

Source: DES, *Statistics on Education,* Vols. 3 and 6.
Notes:
"Full-time" includes those on sandwich courses.
University Departments of Education are included in the "Universities" category.
Polytechnic Departments of Education are included in "Teacher Training," as are Art Teacher Training Centers and Colleges of Education (Technical).

Growth and "Private" Demand

Three approaches to the estimation of necessary growth in higher education have been considered by planning agencies in this country. The first, which is generally termed "manpower planning," involves calculating what supply of different kinds of highly educated persons will be required to meet the needs of the nation. This approach, while having a superficial attraction, has usually been rejected on the grounds of impracticability.[11] There appears to be no reliable basis for calculating the long-term future need for recruits across a variety of professions, some of which may not even exist at the moment.

The "rate of return" approach is complementary to the manpower approach in that it too concerns society's need

TABLE 2
Annual Percentage Growth Rates in Each Sector of Higher Education 1963-1973

	Universities	Teacher Training	Further Education	Total
Base: 1963	n = 98,431	n = 47,228	n = 28,000	n = 173,659
1964	6.2	13.1	18.8	10.1
1965	8.5	15.0	19.1	12.2
1966	24.5	17.5	18.5	21.4
1967	9.7	16.9	16.0	12.9
1968	8.4	13.5	20.0	12.0
1969	5.7	9.0	15.0	8.5
1970	3.7	2.8	8.5	4.5
1971	3.9	2.3	4.7	3.6
1972	2.9	2.3	7.0	3.6
1973	1.9	1.1	2.6	1.9

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education,* Vols. 3 and 6.

for higher education, but in this case is measured in terms of the total benefits expected from educational investment. Attempts to estimate the educational contribution to a society's economic growth in the aggregate have raised formidable technical problems. Research has tended to center on the rate of return to investment from particular educational qualifications, calculations being made in either private or social terms. The rate of return expresses the relationship between benefits and costs for an individual or for society as a whole arising from a given education. Benefits have almost exclusively been equated with earnings and this approach has its own attendant problems. One of the difficulties is to estimate the extent to which higher earnings result from education rather than from superior natural ability, family background, or other advantages. Another problem is to make allowance for the fact that earnings differentials reflect not only differences in productivity, but also conventional relativities, professional entry restrictions, and the relatively high proportion of qualified manpower employed in public sector occupations partly isolated from the competitive labor market. Furthermore, to the extent that there are other gains from education besides the direct economic advantages, this approach underestimates the total social benefits of education.

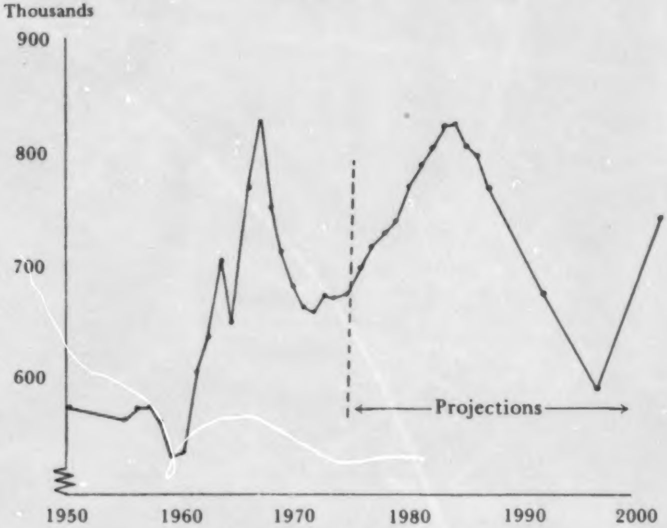
The third approach considers what the demand for places from potential students is likely to be. This involves estimating from present trends the number of younger people who will be suitably qualified to enter higher education and who will wish to do so. This was the approach adopted by the Robbins Committee and it has been favored by planners ever since. Therefore, if we are looking for the reasons behind the declining growth rate in higher education, we must look for indications of a relative decline in the demand for places.

Numbers in the relevant age group

As shown in Figure 2, the number of 18 year olds in England and Wales fell from 1966 until 1971 thus reducing the potential pool of higher education entrants. However, the upturn in the birthrate which continued until 1964 means thta the number of 18 year olds will peak once more in the early 1980s and we may, therefore, see another increase in demand, particularly over the 1979-1983 period. Modest increases in applications for 1977 and 1978 may be an early indication of this.

Since 1964 the birthrate has declined steadily. The effect of this decline on the demand for teacher training has already been swinging and is discussed in Section IV. The impact on the school system is now being felt. On a straightforward analysis it would seem inevitable that higher education will be similarly affected by the mid-eighties unless there has been a dramatic change in the pattern of demand by then. However, the relationships between supply (of births) and demand (for higher education 18 years later) have not behaved consistently over the last 30 years,

FIGURE 2
The Population of 18 Year Olds in England and Wales
1950-2001



Source: Population Projections: OPCS, (1976).

and Rudd[12] has pointed out that the drop in the birthrate has been much greater among lower class groups than among the middle and upper classes where birthrates have been stable or even increased somewhat. Since in Britain, he argues, it is still predominantly these classes who feed higher education, it may be that fears of a marked decline may be groundless. Looking further ahead, it is still too early, of course, to tell whether the higher birthrate in the early sixties will produce in its turn a small bulge at the end of the century.

The numbers staying on at school

The tendency for people to stay on at school after the compulsory age has increased over the period under consideration (Table 3). However, once again we see that the

TABLE 3
The Percentage of Each Age Group Still at School
1963-1973

	17 year olds	18 year olds
1963	12.2	4.3
1964	13.3	4.2
1965	13.8	4.8
1966	14.7	4.8
1967	16.0	5.3
1968	17.3	6.1
1969	18.6	6.3
1970	19.6	6.3
1971	20.1	6.6
1972	20.6	6.7
1973	20.8	6.7

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education,* Vol. 1.

growth rate slowed down in the later years. Of necessity this will affect the numbers gaining the necessary qualifications for entry to higher education.

The qualification rate

The normal minimum entrance requirements for universities and for CNAA degrees in polytechnics are two 'A' levels in the General Certificate of Education. Until recently colleges of education have required only five 'O' levels but this has now been raised to one 'A' and five 'O' levels or two 'A' and three 'O' levels. However, due to the competition for places, the acquisition of these minimum requirements does not guarantee entry to higher education. In reality, the majority of successful entrants had qualifications well above the formal minimum as is shown by the fact that as long ago as 1962 some 39 percent of entrants to teacher training colleges held at least two 'A' levels.

Table 4 shows the percentage of the relevant age group gaining two or more 'A' levels in a given year. Once again we see a steady growth followed by a flattening out over the last few years. It should be noted here that the

TABLE 4
The Percentage of the Relevant Age Group Gaining Two or More 'A' Levels 1963-1973

	In School	In Further Education	Total
1963	7.4	0.6	8.0
1964	7.7	0.6	8.3
1965	8.5	0.7	9.2
1966	8.8	0.8	9.6
1967	9.9	1.0	10.9
1968	10.7	1.1	11.8
1969	11.2	1.4	12.6
1970	11.7	1.6	13.3
1971	12.2	1.7	13.9
1972	12.2	1.7	13.9
1973	12.3	1.7	14.0

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education,* Vol. 2.

flattening out is almost exclusively a function of the exam sitting rate as pass rates have remained fairly constant over the period.

What is of interest here is the rise in the percentage of students who are gaining 'A' levels in further education rather than in school sixth forms. The percentage rose from 6 percent in 1962 to 12 percent in 1972. Some people will have transferred to a college to complete their studies because their school did not have sixth form facilities, while others will have preferred the relative independence of being a "college student" rather than a "school child."

The transfer rate

Table 5 shows that the percentage of school leavers with two or more 'A' levels who proceed to full-time degree courses has declined steadily in recent years. However, the 1974 figure suggests this trend might have been halted. The transfer rate depends upon two factors. First, it depends upon the number of suitably qualified people who actually *want* to enter higher education and second, upon the acceptance rate of applicants by the relevant institutions. Unfortunately we do not have enough detailed information to separate these factors in a precise fashion.

The Universities Central Council for Admissions (UCCA) and the Central Register and Clearing House and Graduate Teacher Training Registry monitor applications for universities and colleges of education but applications for advanced further education are not collated in a way which enables comparisons to be made across the whole field of higher education.

TABLE 5
The Destination of School Leavers with Two or More 'A' Levels
1967-1974

	% Full-time degree course	% Any Full-time course	% Employment
1967	55.7	78.7	17.4
1968	55.9	79.3	17.1
1969	54.9	79.6	16.8
1970	54.5	79.6	18.4
1971	53.3	77.7	18.4
1972	51.5	76.0	20.3
1973	50.2	72.9	22.6
1974	52.6	72.9	22.4

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education*, Vol. 2.

Polytechnics, unlike universities in the U.K., do not form a homogeneous group with a centralized funding body and admissions system. While the Council for National Academic Awards determines academic standards, it exercises no control over the academic organization of individual polytechnics which are autonomous bodies controlled financially and politically through Local Education Authorities. The CNAA limits its published statistics to the numbers and types of degree courses, the numbers and educational origins of registered students, their methods of study, and awards made.

Some submission of statistics on registered students is required from each polytechnic by the Department of Education and Science, but these do not extend to cover applications. More seriously, there is no way in which information on applications can be related over the whole polytechnic sector, nor can any information that is obtainable be related to that from the university sector. It took the universities many years to achieve agreement on a central clearing house for admissions. The polytechnics, it is true, have been in existence for only about ten years. It will be interesting to see for how long the polytechnics can postpone what seems to be inevitable. It is possible to argue not only that the country needs a centralized polytechnic admission system urgently, but also that it should go further and set up a centralized admissions system for degree-level education. It is to be hoped that this is one task which may be given some impetus by the formation of the new National Council which is currently being proposed for the management of higher education in the public sector.

In the absence of any such centralized system it is impossible to make any estimate of the *real* demand for higher education since there is no way of knowing whether or not students are applying for one sector of the binary system or both; and if they are applying to the polytechnic sector, to how many institutions they are applying. Not only is this not helpful to individual students who have to make a large number of duplicate applications, but it is also relatively inefficient for institutions that are increasingly spending money on advertising for students and do not know, until quite late on, how many are really firm applications. For statisticians attempting to interpret overall demand in an absolute sense, the figures provide no assistance, although as indicators of relative differences over time and between institutions they are of some help.

Even if all the three sectors were accurately monitored it would still be difficult to understand total demand for higher education because potential entrants have the right to make multiple applications without revealing their preferences between the sectors. At the moment, even if applications for admission to advanced courses are down in all three sectors, we cannot say with absolute certainty that demand is falling as it may be that fewer people are making multiple applications.

However, there is some evidence to suggest that it is a decline in willingness among qualified applicants that accounts for the declining transfer rate. First, the published UCCA figures show that a fairly constant percentage of candidates was being accepted each year until 1975 (Table 6). Second, if qualified applicants were being turned away from higher education one might expect them to settle for for some lower level course. However, Table 5 shows that qualified school leavers became less likely to proceed to *any* form of full-time education. Finally, we can look at the behavior of those leaving school with very good 'A'

TABLE 6
The Percentage of Candidates for University Undergraduate Courses Who Were Actually Admitted 1966-1975

	Number of candidates	% admitted
1967	101,580	49.7
1968	110,419	48.6
1969	114,289	50.4
1970	116,735	50.4
1971	123,984	47.5
1972	124,359	48.7
1973	124,634	49.7
1974	125,780	50.3
1975	131,478	54.2

Source: UCCA Statistical Supplements.

level passes. These people should normally be able to gain admission to a degree course yet Table 7 indicates that they are becoming less willing to do so. The percentage of those with a high 'A' level performance proceeding to full-time degree courses has dropped steadily from 84.4 percent in 1966 to 77.6 percent in 1974.

TABLE 7
The Percentage of School Leavers wtih Two or More 'A' Levels Who Proceed to Full-Time Degree Courses, Analyzed by 'A' Level Performance
1966-1974

	High	Low
1966	84.4	38.2
1967	83.2	37.8
1968	83.7	37.3
1969	83.1	35.6
1970	81.9	36.4
1971	81.3	34.8
1972	79.9	32.5
1973	76.8	32.9
1974	77.6	36.4

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education*, Vol. 2.

Note: The distinction is made between those with "high grade combinations" and those with "lower grade combinations" as defined and used by the DES in their *Statistics of Education* series.

Planning of Expansion in Higher Education

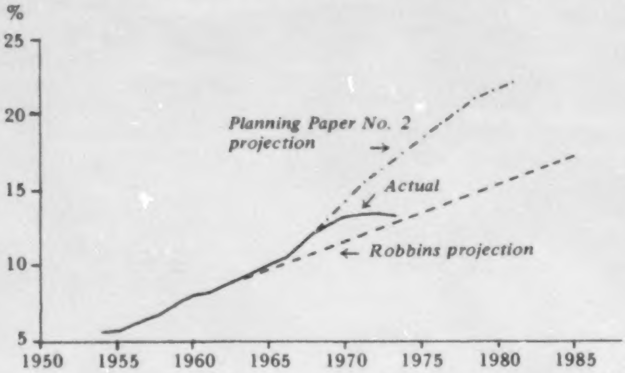
The Robbins Committee took it as axiomatic "that courses of higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so." However, they did not mean by this that all with two or more 'A' levels should go to university if they wanted. What they did was to assume that the proportions of people with each level of entry of qualification who actually go to higher education should remain constant (at their 1961 proportions) up to 1968, and then rise somewhat. This increase in the transfer rate would be due to an increase in the application rate for full-time higher education. At no stage did they envisage a decline in the degree of competition for entry among qualified applicants.

> ". . . in a system where almost all home students are assisted from public funds it is inevitable that there should be some degree of selection, and hence some degree of competition for entry. However, we are anxious not to overstate the number of places needed. For these reasons our estimates do not allow for any relaxation of the degree of competition. It follows that the number of places for entrants should be assumed to rise at the same rate as the number of qualified applicants."[13]

By taking current population figures (the 18 year olds of 1981 had already been born), extrapolating trends in qualification rates, and assuming the fairly constant transfer rates as outlined above, the Robbins Committee was able to project that there needed to be places for 558,000 students in full-time higher education in 1981 in Great Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland). However, the rapid upsurge in the qualification rates meant that the Committee's deliberately conservative estimates were swiftly overtaken. *The Education Planning Paper Number 2* in 1970,[14] using the same assumptions, had to increase the 1981 projection to 835,000. However, just as Robbins did not foresee the coming "boom," neither did the 1970 paper foresee the coming "plateau." The projection of linear trends is bound to come unstuck when the trend turns out to be S-shaped. Figure 3 shows exactly how things went awry in the case of boys leaving school with two 'A' levels. While the 1970 Planning Paper tended to produce overestimates for the qualification rates it must be noted that the projections were less inaccurate for girl school leavers and in fact underestimated the numbers gaining 'A' levels in further education.

The 1972 White Paper, *Education: A Framework for Expansion*[15] lowered the target figure for 1981 to 750,000

FIGURE 3
The Percentage of Boys in the Relevant Age Group Leaving School with Two or More 'A' Levels



Source: DES, *Statistics of Education*, Vol. 2.

students. In 1974 this figure was reduced to 640,000 and in 1976 it was lowered still further to 600,000. In each case there was no change of principle involved, merely a readjustment of the forecast using the methods outlined by Robbins.

Reasons Behind the Slackening Demand for Higher Education

Some observers of the situation would say that the levelling off in the percentage obtaining two or more 'A' levels means that we are approaching the limit of what was once called the "pool of ability." This is the proportion of the population considered inherently capable of obtaining the minimum entrance requirements for higher education and hence capable of benefitting from it. The Robbins Committee, on the other hand, believed that there were vast reserves of untapped ability, especially among the poorer sections of the community. It produced substantial evidence to show that children of manual workers were on average much less successful than children of the same ability in other social groups and stated:

> "In short we think there is no risk that within the next 20 years the growth in the proportion of young people with qualifications and aptitudes suitable for entry to higher education will be restrained by a shortage of potential ability."[16]

Although there may be no shortage of potential ability we may well have reached a limit in terms of the number of parents who can afford to allow their children to stay on at school and proceed to higher education. The level of maintenance allowance available to parents whose children have wished to stay on after the statutory leaving age has been very low. Able children from low-income homes are given no financial incentive to stay on in full-time education. The barrier for many occurs, therefore, at 16+ rather than 18+.

Williams, using a more general economic argument[17] has suggested that the "fall" in demand can be explained by changes in the individual's perception of the costs and benefits of higher education. By calculating the relative spending power of a student grant he shows that being a student is much less attractive economically in the mid-1970s than it was in the mid-1960s. He also provides evidence to show that the economic benefits obtained by graduates are undergoing a relative decline. He believes that this economic explanation of human behavior is the only one to account for the explosive rise in the demand for higher education in the 1960s and the very much slower rise today. Similar hypotheses are currently being advanced about the decrease in the number of children going into apprenticeship as the pay differentials between skilled and unskilled manual workers decrease.[18]

The reorganization of secondary schooling along comprehensive lines which has been taking place in Britain has been blamed by many for an apparent decline in educational attainment in terms of exam passes, entry to university etc. However, Woodley[19] and Travers[20] have both argued that this apparent lack of success is due largely to the coexistence of comprehensive schools and grammar schools in the same area. These grammar schools tend to "cream off" the most intelligent pupils so the comprehensive intakes do not represent a true cross-section of ability. When allowances are made for the amount of coexistence in the country and the effects of "creaming" then comprehensives appear to have done no better and no worse than one might have expected. In theory, as comprehensives begin to open their sixth forms to a wider range of students, more of them will be able to take 'A' levels and therefore potentially qualify for entry to higher education. In reality, over the time period we have been discussing, the elitist tradition had continued to dominate education, selection still existing either between or within schools. The use of banding, streaming, selection into CSE or 'O' level groups, and a sixth form open only to those passing 'O' levels are all mechanisms which continue to be used and are likely, therefore, to keep down the numbers aspiring to sixth form and consequently 'A' level work.

The student unrest of the late 1960s must also be mentioned as a possible factor affecting the level of demand for higher education. Although the troubles were less severe in this country than in the U.S., and parts of Europe, they were certainly sufficient to convince many parents and school children that a university campus was not the "glittering prize" it had once been thought. If this were a significant factor, then one might expect demand to pick up once more as these events recede into the past.

The Part-Time Tradition

If we are to consider access to higher education in overall terms then we must include the contribution made by part-time, evening, and correspondence courses.

In comparison with most other countries, British universities have provided relatively little in the way of part-time opportunities for students. There are, of course, notable exceptions such as Birkbeck College of the University of London which caters almost exclusively to part-time students. In recent years part-time students have constituted around 9 percent of the total university population (Table 8) but the vast majority of them are postgraduates. In 1974, for instance, there were only 2,600 part-time undergraduates. This figure does not include the Open University which of course changes the picture dramatically. We shall consider this later on.

TABLE 8
Part-Time Students in Universities in England and Wales
1966-1974

	Number of Part-Time Students	As a % of Total University Students	% Who Were Undergraduates	% Who Were Postgraduates
1966	11,007	7.2	33.5	66.5
1967	14,183	8.4	23.7	76.3
1968	14,666	8.0	20.2	79.8
1969	16,658	8.6	20.2	79.8
1970	19,150	9.4	17.8	82.2
1971	19,254	9.1	19.3	80.7
1972	19,518	9.0	14.3	85.7
1973	19,623	8.9	12.9	87.1
1974	20,228	9.0	12.9	87.1
1975	20,843	9.0	12.0	88.0

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education,* Vol. 6.

The provision of part-time opportunities for advanced level courses has traditionally been the province of the further education colleges and this tradition continues today. In 1973 there were over 100,000 students engaged on advanced courses in this sector, thus increasing by some 25 percent the total number of students in higher education. Table 9 shows the distribution by type of course and mode of study. Over three quarters of all part-time students were studying for a Higher National Certificate (mainly on day release) or for advanced professional qualifications. In the case of first degrees more day students were studying for a CNAA degree, whereas more evening students were studying for a university degree.

TABLE 9
Part-Time Students Taking Higher Level Courses in the Further Education Sector in 1973

Type of Course	Mode of Study: % Part-Time Day n = 72,598	Mode of Study: % Evenings Only n = 35,658	Total n = 108,256
University first degree	0.4	4.1	1.6
CNAA first degree	2.8	1.4	2.3
University higher degree	0.3	0.4	0.3
CNAA higher degree	0.5	0.5	0.5
Postgraduate and research	6.0	5.6	5.9
Higher national certificate	41.4	11.6	31.6
Professional qualifications	38.5	63.1	46.6
College diplomas & certificates	2.4	1.0	2.0
Other courses	7.6	12.3	9.2

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education,* 1973, Vol. 3.

With the exception of the Open University, part-time advanced level study has not been a growth area over the last 10 years or so. Between 1966 and 1974 the number of full-time university students increased by 82 percent while the number of part-time undergraduates in universities dropped by almost 30 percent. Over the same time period the number of full-time students taking advanced courses in the further education sector increased by 138 percent but the numbers of part-time students increased by only 17 percent.

One possible reason for this change may well have been the creation of the Open University which admitted its first students in 1971 and perhaps attracted some of further education's former clientele. The Open University provides degree level courses for adults studying in their own homes. The teaching system involves the use of correspondence texts, television, radio, and other media combined with some face-to-face tutorials and residential schools. No educational qualifications are required for entry and the basic principle underlying the admissions system is "first-come, first served."[21] In 1977-78, its seventh year of operation, it had 60,000 students, 45,000 of whom lived in England and Wales. This represents a significant increase in the number of students in higher education. We shall consider its impact and the general question of the admission of mature students in Section II.

1. *Development of Higher Education.* Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1970, p. 7.
2. This historical analysis draws heavily on Eric E. Robinson's account in *The New Polytechnics.* London: Cornmarket Press, 1968.
3. Percy Committee: *Higher Technological Education.* London: HMSO, 1945.
4. University Grants Committee: *Quinquennial Plan 1955-1960.* London: HMSO, 1956.
5. *Technical Education.* London: Cmnd. 9703, HMSO, 1956.
6. Robbins Committee: *Higher Education: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-63.* London: Cmnd. 2154, HMSO, 1963.
7. Department of Education and Science: *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges.* London: Cmnd. 3006, HMSO, 1966.
8. Speech by Anthony Crosland, The Secretary of State for Education and Science, at Woolwich Polytechnic, Tuesday, April 27, 1965, in John Pratt and Tyrrell Burgess, *Polytechnics: A Report.* London: Pitman Publishing, 1974.
9. Sir Toby Weaver, "Higher Education and the Polytechnics," The Joseph Payne Memorial Lecture of the College of Preceptors, City University, October 25, 1973.
10. *Op. cit.*, Sir Toby Weaver, p. 10.
11. See for instance *Robbins Report*, p. 48.
12. Ernest Rudd, "What a Falling Birthrate Will Mean to Universities in 1982," *Times Higher Education Supplement.* 265 (November 19, 1976).
13. *Op. cit., Robbins Report*, p. 59.
14. *Student Numbers in Higher Education in England and Wales, Education Planning Paper No. 2.* London: HMSO, 1970.
15. Department of Education and Science, *Education: A Framework for Expansion.* White Paper, London: Cmnd. 5174, HMSO, 1972.

16. *Op. cit., Robbins Report,* p. 54.
17. Gareth Williams, "The Events of 1973-74 in a Long-Term Planning Perspective," *Higher Education Bulletin.* No. 3, 1974, Center for Educational Research and Development, Lancaster University.
18. Frances Cairncross, reporting on "Skilled Labor Shortages in the United Kingdom," a paper by G. Eastwood, British North America Committee, *The Guardian.* October 23, 1976.
19. Alan Woodley, "Academic Results and Comprehensives," *Comprehensive Education.* Issue 32 (Spring, 1976), pp. 11-13.
20. Tony Travers, "Academic Results and Comprehensives," *Comprehensive Education.* Issue 32 (Spring, 1976), pp. 14-19.
21. For a more complete description of the admissions system see *A Degree of Difference.* Naomi E. McIntosh with Judith Calder and Betty Swift, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

ACCESS FOR WHOM?

The Notion of Equality of Opportunity

The increase in absolute numbers entering higher education has been great over the past ten years. The questions we now want to ask are concerned with quality rather than quantity. Has access been increased for all? Does "more" mean "different" or are we, in fact, simply talking about "more of the same"?[1] A recent report published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development concluded that "Big increases in education in the 1950s and 1960s . . . brought about only marginal advances in equality of opportunity."[2] We wish to examine whether the same types of people as before are simply benefitting proportionately more from the increase in available places or whether there has been any real change in the nature of those receiving higher education.

The notion of "equality of educational opportunity" is a slippery one. As Neave points out, the concept is essentially relativistic, being dependent on ideologies and beliefs concerning the educability of individuals and the nature of the type of society one should be aiming for.[3] The various interpretations are based on different axioms related to intelligence; they result in different educational structures and they require different variables for their evaluation. Neave goes on to delineate three ideal-type interpretations which are briefly summarized as follows:

a. The elitist interpretation

Intelligence is innate and can be measured by psychometric tests taken in early puberty or slightly before.

Secondary education acts as a screening device to distinguish between the "able" and the "less able."

Equality consists in the right of all children judged "able," regardless of their social origin, to pursue studies to the highest level without financial hindrance. The success of an education system is judged by the quality and attainment of those students entering university.

b. The socially oriented interpretation

Intelligence is influenced by "private environment." It can be measured but is subject to change and therefore can be determined only over a long period.

Secondary education is still a screening device but the period during which a pupil can gain qualification is prolonged.

Equality consists in educating all children through similar programs, with a certain degree of compensatory education for the environmentally disadvantaged at the secondary level. The success of an education system is judged by the proportion of students remaining in school after the statutory leaving age.

c. The individual-centered interpretation

Intelligence is influenced by both private and public environment and is a cultural phenomenon which cannot be meaningfully measured.

As far as possible the secondary school is free from filtering mechanisms.

Equality is measured in terms of the possibility of the individual to make use of and have access to the means of knowledge. The success of the system is judged by the degree to which it can provide for the diverse needs of all classes and individuals.

Although these three categories tend to overlap, the postwar developments in education systems, both at the secondary and postsecondary level, show a transition from the elite interpretation to the socially oriented or the individual-centered interpretation.

The extent to which this transition has been made varies greatly from country to country. Table 10, for instance, shows that little filtering out occurs at the secondary level in the U.S., with three quarters of the 18 year olds still at school. The traditionally selective nature of the British school system, only recently starting to change, has effectively meant that large numbers of children have been screened out well before they could even have been expected to have aspirations to higher education. The rigorous admissions procedures employed by conventional universities have built on this selective basis, and in effect screened in only those likely to succeed.

TABLE 10
The Percentage of 18 Year Olds Still at School

	%
United States	75
Belgium (Flemish-speaking)	47
Belgium (French-speaking)	47
Sweden	45
Australia	29
Hungary	28
Finland	21
England	20
Italy	16
Netherlands	13
New Zealand	13
West Germany	9

Source: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement: Stockholm 1973.

To some egalitarians, to deny access to college is to deny equal opportunity. In the U.S. this principle requires that all who want to try should have *access* to some form of postschool education. However, the extension of access almost invariably leads to an increase in dropout. Some advocates of egalitarianism, Burn[4] notes, confuse equality of opportunity with equality of outcome. But higher education is essentially meritocratic in nature: it seeks out and selects talent, differentiates between it, in the process widens disparities between people rather than levelling them and finally certifies those differences. A university cannot grant equal certification for unequal talents. Clark commented:

> "The conflict between open door admission and performance of high quality often means a wide discrepancy between the hopes of entering students and their means of realization."[5]

But it is vital both to the academic faculty and to external educationalists and laymen that standards of performance and graduation are equivalent to other comparable institutions. It is even more vital to the students. Frank Newman commented on this dilemma in the following words:

> "In interpreting these findings, we *can* assume that society fulfills its obligations simply by providing the opportunity for as many people as possible to enter college. Success cannot and should not be guaranteed. High dropout rates are not inconsistent with our commitment to broad access, but rather reflect the maintenance of rigorous academic standards and our insistence that a college degree represents real achievement. *Or* we can assume that society's obligation (and its own self-interest as well) is to provide more than just the chance to walk through the college gate. There must also be access to a useful and personally significant education experience."[6]

It is no use extending access and giving to more people the right to enter, if that right simply becomes a right to fail.

England and Wales are still far from the provision of mass higher education, nor by any means does everybody agree upon it as a goal. Entry continues to depend upon the attainment of more or less rigorous entrance requirements. In what follows we take a wide-ranging look at the "barriers" to access to higher education to see whether this basically elitist system is successfully drawing more "able" students from traditionally underrepresented groups such as the working class and women. We also look at the development of more "socially oriented" institutions such as comprehensive schools and polytechnics and evaluate their impact on access. Finally we consider the Open University which, with its absence of entry qualifications represents Britain's largest, if not only "individual-centered" institution of higher education.

Barriers to Access

There are several well-documented discussions of the problems involved in extending opportunity for higher education to minority groups. Crossland[7] provided a cogent summary of the barriers to access to higher education in the United States. He discussed the testing barrier, the barrier of poor preparation, the money barrier, the distance barrier, the motivation barrier, and the racial barrier. It is interesting that he omitted sex. The majority of Crossland's barriers also apply to working-class students in England and Wales. Even the racial barrier may well become significant over the next decade, as more second generation immigrants become qualified for, and expect access to, higher education as of right. These problems are common to many countries as the OECD report *Group Disparities in Educational Participation and Achievement*[8] shows. Much selection, in terms of background, has already taken place before the decisive *school* exams take place, and it is these exams which determine eligibility for selection for higher education.

Social Class and Universities

It is worth looking at some of these "barriers" in more detail. To do this in our context is to realize that many of Crossland's barriers are subsumed under one heading, that of social class. Social class is more of a European than a

North American phenomenon. It is still in England and Wales a powerful though difficult concept to define. This is not the place in which to embark upon a discussion of its complexities. Much as the concept is attacked, it continues to be the main discriminator used in much social and educational analysis.

The Robbins Committee[9] was well aware of the "class problem" in higher education and discussed it in great detail. The report noted that there is a "vast mass whose performance, both at entry to higher education and beyond, depends greatly on how they have lived and been taught beforehand." This was quite clearly shown by the Robbins Committee when they looked at the progress of children in their sample who had the same I.Q. ratings but belonged to different social class backgrounds. Table 11 shows how the middle-class children had a far greater chance of entering into higher education and degree courses than their working class contemporaries. In terms of entrance to universities this trend has not changed much, if at all, over the past 20 years. Although greater numbers have been entering universities, in terms of their background they are still entering in the same proportions. Although both the 1966 census and the 1971 census which effectively cover this period showed just under two thirds of economically active males

TABLE 11
Progress of Children Born in 1940-41 with an I.Q. between 115 and 129

Level Achieved:	Middle Class %	Working Class %
5 'O' levels	56	45
2+ 'A' levels	23	14
Entry to full-time higher education	34	15
Entry to degree courses	17	8

Source: Robbins Report, 1963.

were employed in manual work, their offspring have consistently represented less than a third of accepted UCCA candidates (see Table 12). In contrast to this the children of professional staff/skilled technicians accounted for just over a third of UCCA accepted candidates in 1973 while their parents represented only 8 percent and 9 percent respectively of the working population in the 1966 and 1971 censuses. Indeed, the middle classes have actually gained ground over the last few years, a sorry state of affairs, 20 years after Robbins.

TABLE 12
The Percentage of Accepted UCCA Home Candidates by Father's Occupation

	Manual Worker %	Routine Non-Manual %	Administrators and Managers %	Professional/ Technical etc. %
1968	28	28	14	30
1969	29	27	15	29
1970	29	17	15	29
1971	29	28	14	29
1972	27	27	14	32
1873	26	25	15	34
1974	26	25	15	34

Source: UCCA Statistical Supplements.

Social Class and Polytechnics

The situation according to this criterion does not seem any better in the polytechnics. The polytechnics did not, of course, leap into being overnight. They are very much still a function of their past, many of them being formed as a result of the merging of two or more disparate institutions. Any analysis of their current structure has to bear in mind their origins. Some had strong technological traditions while others already had a major commitment to teaching

TABLE 13

Percentage Distribution of Advanced Students in Various Courses in Polytechnics 1965-1974

Year	First degree		Higher degree		Post-graduate + research	HND	HNC	Art	Professional studies	Other	Total students
	Univ	CNAA	Univ	CNAA							
1966	14.0	4.9	0.7	-	2.6	6.0	29.1	4.4	30.5	6.5	77,920
1967	13.0	6.9	0.4	0.04	3.4	6.9	23.5	5.3	34.0	8.3	95,066
1968	12.6	9.4	0.6	0.07	3.5	7.6	21.2	5.0	32.7	7.4	100,813
1969	11.2	13.0	0.6	0.13	4.2	8.6	14.8	3.6	31.2	12.6	101,994
1970	9.7	20.0	0.3	0.32	4.8	10.6	12.4	3.8	28.7	9.4	91,080
1971	9.6	22.1	0.5	0.42	4.4	10.1	11.7	3.8	27.5	9.9	111,283
1972	7.9	26.0	0.4	0.65	4.6	9.4	10.9	4.0	26.3	9.8	114,147
1973	5.1	30.3	0.3	0.75	4.7	8.8	10.1	4.3	25.6	10.0	116,496
1974	3.0	37.3*	0.2	0.96	4.3	8.0	9.4	0.3*	25.9	10.5	126,106

Sources: Neave, G. and DES, *Statistics of Education,* Vol. 3, Further Education, HMSO, by year.

*The changes in 1974 relate to amalgamation of the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design with the CNAA.

London External degrees. Others were to incorporate art colleges with separate and distinct traditions.

The main thrust of the development of the binary policy was that these new institutions would be able to provide a comprehensive array of opportunities so that students could move up or down or sideways within them and so that courses at similar levels could be studied full- or part-time. Crosland made this clear in his Woolwich speech.[10]

> "There is an ever-increasing need and demand for vocational, professional and industrially based courses in higher education—at full-time degree level, at full-time just below degree level, at part-time advanced level and so on . . . . In our view it requires a separate sector with a separate tradition and outlook within the higher education system."

Table 13 shows, since the inception of the polytechnic policy, the range of "advanced" provision within those institutions which were to be so designated. The early years show significant proportions of university degree work, mainly representing the external degree of London University, and of work in the area of professional studies. As the opportunity to move away from the straitjacket of the London external degree was increasingly taken, so the proportion of CNAA degree students increases. The other main trend to emerge is, qualitatively, a more significant one. The numbers taking Higher National Certificates, a part-time qualification, have decreased dramatically. For some this is likely to have meant a real loss in opportunity since these courses have not just been transferred to other institutions, but have often been phased out. This interpretation is supported by Burgess and Pratt[11] who state:

> "A quite clear trend of the polytechnics had been to become less comprehensive in the most important ways. The substantial growth of full-time and sandwich advanced students has been at the expense of not only non-advanced students, as the (DES) policy implied, but of

> groups not implied in the policy. Part-time students are struggling to retain their position in the colleges, and those on HNC courses are steadily being shed."

An alternative and more sanguine view argued in government is that many who were previously forced to take part-time courses are now able to study full-time—a much more constructive situation. It is difficult to tell from available statistics which of these propositions is correct. It is certainly the case that such courses continue to be provided in Colleges of Further Education.

Both the stated objectives of polytechnics, and the quantitative increase in numbers to be achieved through their establishment, might have been expected to lead to a qualitative change in the nature of their student population. There is little evidence of this. Donaldson[12] was already concerned that "there is no institutionalized policy of making the polytechnics more accessible to the working class and the current evidence suggests that they are assimilating to the university pattern of social class composition." Burgess and Pratt[13] commented on the "social academic" drift that appeared increasingly to be taking place in polytechnics. "As part-timers are shed, the proportion of advanced full-time working-class students declines." Both of these comments are supported by the findings of the first national survey of staff and students in polytechnics carried out in 1972-73. Whitburn, Mealing, and Cox[14] found that although there were differences between regions and between subject areas, 60 percent of all students had fathers who were working in nonmanual occupations. The figure for students on degree courses was 64 percent, and only among part-time students did it drop to nearly one half (51%). The tendency for polytechnics to discontinue lower level and part-time courses is likely to have implications for this aspect of "success."

It has been argued that the higher status an institution has, the more remote and inaccessible its range of offerings will appear to potential students. Couper and Harris[15] studied the transition of Bath from a technical college to a College of Advanced Technology to a technological university, and found that the proportion of working-class students declined as the institution became a CAT and fell even further when university status was conferred. They suggested that one reason for this could be that the working class might perceive a university ethos and degree type work as unattractive or irrelevant for them. Whitburn *et al.* were also concerned about this, noting "it is possible that the composition of the student body in polytechnics partially determines and reflects their image or the perceptions which potential students have formed of what polytechnics have to offer."[16] Of course this hypothesis is relevant only for that proportion of the population which remains interested in education. The majority of the working class are not in the business of discriminating between what two basically similar institutions of higher or further education are providing, since they are not in the market for that product anyway.

It is possible, with the increase of comprehensive schooling (76 percent of school leavers in 1976 were from comprehensives), that this situation might now start to change, although the tracking that has traditionally taken place within the British educational system is unlikely to cease overnight. The past dominance of the private, direct grant and grammar schools as feeders for the older universities is well documented. There has always been a clearer route from the secondary modern or technical school to the local further education or technical college than to the university. And working-class people are more likely to be more reliant on and influenced by the in-school network for advice and their image of "college" in the absence of knowledgeable parental support. There is also a much greater awareness of polytechnic opportunities in further education colleges than there is in grammar schools or even in the sixth forms of comprehensives. In theory, provided polytechnics do not select out potential applicants by reducing the range of provision available too drastically, they should be able to continue to attract more working-class students. If, on the other hand, they continue their current emphasis on the development of CNAA degrees, often incorporating in them studies that would previously have been at diploma level, and at the same time reduce the number of part-time courses, then this is likely to result in a smaller number of working-class students. Looking at such a scenario it is not difficult to imagine polytechnics quite soon wishing to follow the route taken by the Colleges of Advanced Technology and becoming effectively full-fledged universities. It is possible to suggest, if this were to happen, that the result of the polytechnic policy would be to have locked Britain into maintaining an elite system of higher education, rather than to have provided an impetus to the development of a mass system.

There has never, of course, been a clear commitment in Britain to the provision of mass higher education. One might have expected to find it planned for as a natural concomitant of the move towards comprehensive education. It may be that it is still too early for this to have started to happen. It is ironic that the same Labour government which engaged in the abolition of selection at eleven in order to introduce comprehensive schools was at the same time effectively introducing more division at eighteen.

If the early ideal outlined in Crosland's speech at Woolwich[17] had been achieved, then the polytechnics would have been the best placed of all British institutions to provide opportunities for mass higher education. With their tradition of being more accessible and receptive to the needs of the local community, with less rigorous admissions criteria than universities, and with a range of opportunities available at a variety of levels within and between institutions, more students could have been offered a real and continuing opportunity at one or other levels of higher education.

The Qualification Barrier

Much prior selection for higher education is, as we have noted, carried out within the schools. Un[illegible]ing of the school leaving age to 16 in 1972, a substa[illegible] proportion of children left with no qualifications at all. A further group took only 'O' levels or CSE exams at around 16. Although these proportions have increased substantially over the last decade (see Table 14), the proportion of each cohort continuing on until 'A' levels and thus in a position to take the key examinations is still small.

TABLE 14
Output from Schools

The percentage of age-group leaving with	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72
5 or more 'O' levels	15.4	18.7	22.7
1 or more 'A' levels	8.9	12.4	15.6
2 or more 'A' levels	7.1	9.9	12.2
3 or more 'A' levels	4.7	6.4	7.9

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education*, Vol. 2.

There are also signs that further education is becoming an increasingly important additional path to 'A' levels. The number of other children who got one 'A' level in further education rose over the decade from 7,000 to 24,000 and the number who got two 'A' levels from 3,000 to 11,000. Despite these advances, the use of 'A' levels as the criterion for entry to higher level courses continues to act as an effective filter to remove many potential students, particularly those from working-class backgrounds.

Polytechnic admissions policies have to operate within the framework set nationally by the CNAA. This is roughly parallel to that operated by universities. But many polytechnics, particularly on some of their more innovatory programs, interpret this liberally and demand only the minimum formal requirement.

It could be argued that this formal requirement, stipulating as it does only two subjects at Advanced level, and making no condition about level of grades, creates the lowest possible qualification barrier. However, a two 'A' level requirement is in itself a formidable selection device. The new Diploma of Higher Education, now being offered or planned in nearly 40 colleges or polytechnics, also has a minimum entry requirement of two 'A' levels. In this respect it is unlike the Higher National Diploma which has the less rigorous entry requirement of one 'A' level or more. This is a curious difference in policy and one that is even more curious since the change in grant regulations that made grants for Higher National Diploma courses mandatory was a recent one (1975). Whether or not such an anomalous situation can or should be allowed to continue is a matter for discussion. Why should one set of students have mandatory grants on the basis of one 'A' level and not others? From the point of view of educational accessibility one could argue that it is the Dip.HE that should be downgraded in terms of its entrance requirements, not the other way around.

Another problem arises with the reduction of places available for teacher education and their replacement by places on Dip.HE courses. Until the 1975 entry it was possible for students entering colleges of education to proceed to the degree of Bachelor of Education without first having to matriculate with two 'A' levels at the beginning of the course. The regulations for the new degrees mean that this facility is now not available except for a small minority, e.g. mature students. Some colleges, it is true, are prepared to make retrospective matriculation arrangements allowing students to switch to a degree course on the successful completion of a first year on another course. But the snag is that the other available course, the Certificate of Teacher

Education, is itself the subject of swingeing cuts. Thus opportunities for those with less than two 'A' levels are currently being substantially reduced. It could be argued that this will lead to a welcome raising of standards. It has on the other hand been argued cogently by Evans[18] that it will have a particularly damaging effect on opportunities for girls who have hitherto provided the bulk of the students in teacher education courses. In 1974 Colleges of Education admitted 32,000 students of whom 24,300 were women. In 1975 again the women numbered 22,300 of the 30,000 entries. Of these a sizable proportion will not have had two 'A' levels and on current form would be extremely lucky to gain one of the few surviving teacher education places.

The question of sex as a barrier is one to which we shall return, but it is worth noting here that the introduction of the Diploma of Higher Education with its traditional qualification barrier is likely to diminish rather than increase opportunities for girls unless some new formula for provisional matriculation is used on a large scale.

School Background

Although many more places are now available in the various sectors of higher education, there can be no doubt that different types of schooling still play a dominant role in the selection system. This becomes most apparent when we compare the destinations of school leavers from state schools with those of leavers from the independent sector (Table 15). Pupils from independent schools are much more likely to enter higher education in general, and universities in particular. Furthermore, their dominance is most marked in those institutions generally accepted to be the "ultimate" in higher education, namely Oxford and Cambridge. In 1976, 55 percent of the male entrants and 44 percent of the female entrants to Oxford were educated in direct grant or independent schools. The state sector,

TABLE 15

The Destination of School Leavers in 1974
(by type of school attended)

	Type of School		Type of School	
Destination:	All state maintained n = 638,510 %	All independent n = 26,900 %	State grammar n = 70,520 %	Direct grant grammar n = 16,040 %
Oxford or Cambridge	0.3	6.7	1.5	5.4
Other universities	3.9	17.4	16.1	26.9
Degree courses in polytechnics and elsewhere	0.8	1.7	3.0	4.1
Teacher training	2.2	2.9	7.2	7.4
Higher National Certificate/ Diploma	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.7
Total entering full-time higher education	7.5	29.7	28.8	44.5

while catering to more than 90 percent of the school population, provided only 45 percent of Oxford entrants. This proportion has remained constant over the last decade.

Direct grant grammar schools occupy an anomalous position, being neither completely financially "independent" nor "state maintained." The majority of pupils pay fees but a certain number of free places are provided on a competitive basis for local children. In recognition of this service past governments have supported these schools with "direct grants." Their achievements, when compared with those of state grammar schools, are obviously great (Table 15). However, the present Labour government is at the moment phasing out direct grant grammar schools. As their grants are removed, such schools are forced to decide between becoming completely independent or being absorbed into the state system. Supporters of the direct grant system argue that such a move will not lead to equality of opportunity but will merely deny the opportunity of higher education to those bright working-class children who benefitted under the old system. Whether this is a correct view or not will depend upon the performance of Britain's comprehensive schools.

There has been a large-scale move towards comprehensive secondary schooling in Britain over the last ten years. Comprehensive school pupils formed 76 percent of school leavers in 1976 as opposed to 10 percent in 1966. There has been much concern, especially in educational "Black Papers," that this has produced a decline in standards. Evidence has been cited which purports to show the relatively small percentages of comprehensive school pupils entering higher education. However, as was pointed out earlier, other studies have shown that when one controls for the "creaming off" of bright pupils by coexisting grammar schools, comprehensives appear to offer equal access to higher education. It is the hope of many supporters of comprehensive schooling that more and more pupils will be encouraged to stay on at school and hence overcome the qualification barrier to higher education. However, the recent raising of the school leaving age, coupled with the widespread reorganization of secondary education means that it is still too early to see if their hopes will be realized. The fact that students entering university from state schools have formed a constant proportion of the total university intake during the period of massive reorganization in secondary education provides further evidence that comprehensive schools do not disadvantage aspiring pupils.

Subject Areas

Although for some courses the simple possession of two 'A' levels is sufficient academic qualification for entry, in some subject areas the excess of demand over places has meant that some institutions have been able to ask for and obtain much higher standards than the minimum formal requirements. In the university sector there have always been certain subjects that are considered to offer easy access and others which are oversubscribed by suitably qualified applicants. In recent years in the case of Art subjects it has been possible for universities to ask for and obtain entrants with very high 'A' level grades indeed. In engineering subjects, however, many students have obtained university places with the minimum entrance requirement of two grade 'E's.

Access in terms of subject area, then, will vary according to both the number of places which educational planners considered in the past to be appropriate for national needs, and also the popularity of a given subject among people currently applying for places. Taking the last point, there appears to be a trend towards vocational subjects (Table 16). Given the present economic climate and the fact that some 8 or 9 percent of new graduates are still unemployed at least six months after graduating, it is perhaps not surprising that applicants are favoring courses which lead to specific jobs.

TABLE 16
Changes in the Preferred Subjects of Study of Applicants for University Admission

Subject	Number of Applicants 1971	1975	1975 as % of 1971
Dentistry	1,442	2,969	206
Pharmacy	1,471	2,679	182
Business management studies	1,805	2,675	148
Law	6,205	8,351	135
Medicine	8,971	12,046	134
Civil engineering	3,625	4,818	133
Combinations of languages and other arts	3,412	3,774	111
Electrical engineering	4,123	4,392	107
History	3,809	3,905	103
English	5,897	5,666	96
Mechanical engineering	3,540	3,350	95
Geography	4,432	4,128	93
Combinations of social, administrative and business studies	7,622	7,078	93
Economics	3,417	3,107	91
Sociology	3,166	2,820	89
Physics	3,017	2,295	76
Mathematics	6,041	4,595	76
General Arts	2,978	2,210	74
Chemistry	3,405	2,292	67

Source: UCCA Statistical Supplement to the 13th Report, 1974-75.

The increased demand for vocational subjects has meant that applicants have faced stiffer competition for entry. In 1967, 13.2 percent of the students accepted for courses in medicine had three 'A' levels with Grade B or higher whereas the corresponding proportion in 1975 had risen to 38.1

percent. The proportions of highly qualified students accepted for engineering courses also rose slightly between 1967 (15.3%) and 1975 (19.3%). However, for both science and social science subjects there was a drop in highly qualified students.

The Financial Barrier

Alexander Astin[19] in a discussion of equal access in the U.S. looks at finance not as a barrier to access, but as a measure of equality of opportunity. Who pays what part of the costs? He found substantial differences in institutional expenditures both for tuition fees and for financial aid. He calculated a figure to indicate the extent to which student costs at public sector institutions are subsidized, and found that the smallest subsidy was in two year colleges and the largest in the most selective universities. And, of course, the poorest students were found in the two-year colleges which were then the least subsidized.

This sort of effect is not likely to be so marked in Britain, since the possession of the offer of a place, together with the minimum entrance requirements, brings with it for full-time students the guarantee of a mandatory grant covering both tuition and maintenance. The maintenance element is, however, assessed on parental means, and neither the income scales employed nor the level of grant itself have kept up with inflation. Many students eligible for a partial grant have found their parents unable or unwilling to make up the difference. Students are likely to be better off coming from either rich or poor parents rather than in the middle of the income scale. There are also anomalies with respect to women who marry while studying, and problems about when students are judged to be independent of their parents.

In principle, however, the level of state support for full-time degree level study ensures that finance is not such a barrier as it is in the U.S. Tuition fees have been set by the government at a level designed to bring in 10 percent of the total income of the universities, the remaining 90 percent coming directly from central government funds. Approximately 90 percent of all full-time students get a full or partial grant.

There are signs, however, that students are finding it increasingly hard to manage, and Gareth Williams[20] has argued that this is one of the factors involved in the declining level of demand. At the same time the government is consulting with universities about the possibility of cutting hidden subsidies in the form of residence and catering services, and charging a more economic price for such services. Unlike the U.S., there has been no tradition in Britain of paying economic fees for educational tuition at degree level. Even the elite universities are in that sense free. Again, unlike the U.S., the nature of the traditional British three-year tightly integrated degree program is that it really has to be studied full-time. It is not possible to hold down a job and study at the same time in the way that many U.S. students, for example, expect to be able to do.

Given this background, the financial barriers to access are more indirect. The basic decision rests with the government to expand the absolute number of places since it knows it will effectively have to find, at minimum, 90 percent of the total cost. The individual's commitment at this stage is a lesser one.

For the individual the critical decision is likely to have been taken earlier. For many children, particularly those from working-class homes, the real selection takes place at 16+, rather than 18+, when there is little or no financial incentive for them to stay on in full-time education. The level of maintenance grants for children who stay on at school after the compulsory school leaving age is very low and for many parents and children the need to earn is overwhelming.

The lack of financial support for those two critical years is one outstanding anomaly in the range of educational support in England and Wales. Awareness of it has been heightened by recent government policy in respect of the young unemployed who at the same age may now be given grants for pursuing training courses in colleges of further education. This early financial barrier is difficult to quantify, but is likely to continue as a significant one unless there is a change in government policy. Provided young people can survive those two years they are reasonably well provided for from then on through the mandatory grants system.

Support is not necessarily uniform as Wagner and Watts[21] argued in a recent study on the costs of being a student. They showed that generally speaking it was less costly to pursue full-time education at 18 than to wait till later on in life. They also showed that part-time higher education was cheaper than the full-time alternative but that the gap was not large enough to make it an attractive option for 18 year olds. A more unexpected finding was that students living away from home are financially better off than students living at home since the extra grant more than compensates for the extra cost. Not surprisingly, perhaps, in the light of this, the Public Accounts Committee is asking the DES to examine the case for increasing the number of home-based students "as a matter of urgency."[22]

The policy concerning mandatory grants is set nationally and is reasonably equitable, although there are some categories of students excluded from benefit as an act of policy while small numbers of others are debarred for more accidental reasons.

Prior to 1977, when tuition fees were set low for all but overseas students, these exceptions did not cause great hardship. With the planned rise in tuition fees to £650 for undergraduate students from both home and overseas in 1977, although the vast majority receiving mandatory grants will be no worse off, and those previously on minimum grant will be better off, those few with no grant are likely to be very hard hit. Indeed, initial estimates made by

DES officials indicated that the swingeing increase in fees was expected to result in 7,000 fewer students in higher education in 1977-78, a drop of 2.5 percent. Many of these it was anticipated, however, would be postgraduate and many would be from overseas.

We do not propose to discuss the difficult question of overseas students here, but there are other categories of debarred students which are of concern to us. Little is known about students who are not eligible for grants and how they have managed or will manage in the future. In an effort to find out about them Ernest Rudd studied all such students at Essex University.[23] One major group he found was those who already hold a qualification for which grants can be given. Note that they may not actually have received a grant for their studies. The previous qualification is frequently at subdegree level, e.g. a teaching certificate. People in this category may be married women returners, people who did badly in their first qualification and wish to return, or people who need further qualifications for promotion. Another group consisted of people who seemed to be eligible but who had been put off by the complexity of the form, by other people telling them they were not eligible, or by other misunderstandings. Other regulations concerning time of application and residence qualifications also hit some home students, often unfairly. He found that one in 15 of all undergraduate students at Essex had not got the minimum grant. Of these he estimated that one quarter already held a qualification which precluded them from a new grant. One third had fallen foul of the regulations in some way. A very small number had chosen not to apply. The balance are part of the more difficult overseas case. They are effectively overseas students who have acquired eligibility for the home tuition fee by dint of being resident here for over three years but have in some way become ineligible for maintenance, e.g. by not being in the country in September.

This last category is of less concern in this analysis but the other home students are likely to find the increased fees a major barrier to continued study and they are the types of groups which may occur more frequently among mature students, particularly as more transferability between institutions develops and there is any substantial move to continuing education.

There is much greater inequity in the area of grants for part-time study. Such grants come under the category of "discretionary" awards and local education authorities make their own decisions about what are or are not deserving categories of students or types of courses. There are wide discrepancies in policy, even between adjacent areas. The assumption is that part-time students are usually adults who are working and can afford to pay. Many can, it is true, but many cannot, and the burden on younger low-paid workers, or housewives with no accessible income may be very great. The Equal Opportunities Commission has argued in evidence to the DES that the area of discretionary grants is particularly discriminatory against women who frequently cannot study full-time or wish to study on lower-level courses.[24]

The Sex Barrier

In Great Britain, women in higher education are quite clearly a minority group. The tradition, prevalent for so long, that the education of girls was less important than that of boys, and the cultural and social imperatives that have underlaid this, cannot be changed overnight. The Sexual Discrimination Act of 1975, together with the setting up of the Equal Opportunities Commission will, it is hoped, start to have some impact on existing practices, but old attitudes die hard, and the structure of existing institutions still continues to militate against women.

It is true that there are now signs of change. More girls are staying on longer at school, and more are applying to and being accepted by universities and polytechnics. Fifteen years ago Robbins had noted a cumulative negative effect: fewer girls were staying on at school, therefore, obtaining fewer 'A' levels, and of those who were staying on fewer were attempting to take two or three 'A' levels, as Table 17 shows.

TABLE 17
Percentage of School Leavers with 5 or More 'O' Levels Obtaining Passes at 'A' Level (by age of leaving)
1961

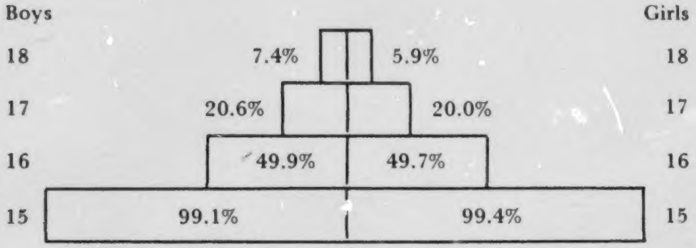
	'A' Level Passes			
Age of Leaving	**3 or More**	**2 or More**	**1 or More**	**Numbers (= 100%)**
	%	%	%	
18 and over:				
Boys	51	73	85	26,940
Girls	34	58	78	19,450
Boys and girls	44	66	82	46,390
17:				
Boys	23	34	41	11,430
Girls	12	21	30	12,480
Boys and girls	18	28	35	23,910

Source: Robbins Report, Appendix One, Part 1, Table 5, p. 9.

By 1974, the situation had improved appreciably. The proportions of the sexes staying on at school (Figure 4) shows that the gap between girls and boys staying on had narrowed.

To have stayed on at school and gained qualifications is only the beginning of the story. As Eileen Byrne[25] made clear, it is important to discover where school leavers go, and it is here that the differences emerge more strongly. While more girls overall go on to some form of further or higher education than boys, they go on to a lower level study. More go to colleges of education and colleges of further education, while fewer go to universities (Table 18).

FIGURE 4
Proportion of Boys and Girls at School at Given Ages
1974



Source: DES, *Statistics of Education*, 1974, Vol. 1

This is not in itself a serious difference, provided the lower level courses lead on adequately to desired occupations. However, the cuts in teacher training places (discussed in a later section, *Current Developments*), will certainly diminish opportunities for girls. More significantly, while degree courses provide the main source of recruitment for many higher level jobs, the smaller number of girls getting 'A' levels, and even smaller numbers entering on degree courses, provides a serious limiting factor to the pool of women available for recruitment to top jobs.

TABLE 18
Destination of School Leavers
1973-1974

Destination:	**Boys** n = 349,650	**Girls** n = 331,810
	%	%
Universities	6.9	4.2
Colleges of Education	0.9	3.9
Polytechnics	2.3	1.4
Other further education	6.8	13.5
All full-time further education	16.9	23.0

Source: DES, *Statistics of Education*, 1974, Vol. 2.

For the remainder, the number who do not go on to any full-time education, there is a more serious difference. The opportunities for girls to continue their education part time through day release are far less than for boys. Fewer than 10 percent of girls in the relevant age groups get day-release education as compared with 40 percent of boys.

The number of women applying to and being accepted by universities has increased steadily but slowly over the last few years, as Table 19 shows.

TABLE 19
Applications and Acceptances for Universities, Analyzed by Sex
(excluding overseas candidates)

	All Applicants		Accepted Applicants	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
1969	67.7	32.3	69.0	31.0
1970	68.7	31.3	67.2	32.8
1971	67.7	32.3	66.6	33.4
1972	66.9	33.1	65.5	34.5
1973	65.8	34.2	64.1	35.9
1974	64.8	35.2	63.6	36.4
1975	64.4	35.6	63.6	36.4

Source: UCCA Statistical Supplements.

However, the figures in the table also reveal that women are not favored by the admissions process. Female applicants are slightly less likely to be accepted than male applicants.

Similar figures for polytechnics are hard to obtain, since as we have noted, there is no central clearing house for polytechnic admission. For comparative information between sectors of higher education, then, we are confined to enrollment figures. These show the proportions of women steadily increasing over the decade both in universities and in polytechnics, although the figure for polytechnics is consistently lower than that for universities. Women continue

TABLE 20
Location of Full-Time Students by Sex

	Universities		Further Education (advanced courses)		Colleges of Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1965/66	73.5	26.5	76.8	23.2	28.4	71.6
1971/72	70.2	29.8	73.9	26.1	28.4	71.6
1972/73	69.1	30.9	72.3	27.7	29.5	70.5
1973/74	68.0	32.0	70.7	29.3	29.8	70.2
1974/75	66.9	33.1	69.2	30.8	27.7	72.3

Source: Central Statistical Office, *Social Trends,* London: HMSO, 1976.

to dominate in colleges of education but the figures do not show any clear trend (Table 20).

Subject differences have an important effect on opportunities open to girls and are likely to become more, not less, significant, at least in the short term. Many of the new colleges of higher education are developing CNAA degrees and diplomas in Arts, Social Sciences and Liberal Studies, capitalizing on their existing staff and experience, and these will provide some opportunities for girls provided they have two 'A' levels. However, the national pressure for expansion of science and technology will certainly benefit men rather than women as the current Secretary of State for Education, Shirley Williams, pointed out somewhat ruefully in a recent speech (*Guardian,* 10 February, 1977).

It is ironic and potentially very serious that the growing interest and concern in the education of women comes at a time when economic and demographic factors are liable not just to militate against its expansion, but potentially to cut back on what is being currently achieved. The cutback in teacher training, the emphasis on science and technology, the arrival of the Dip.HE with its two 'A' level entry, are all developments which are more likely to disadvantage than to advantage women.

If the country were to rethink its education of girls and if the social and psychological climate were to change sufficiently so that a similar proportion of girls as of boys gained 'A' levels and went on to take a degree, then maybe we would discover that the forecasts of demand in the eighties would be too low. On current form this seems an unlikely prospect and a much greater urgency both within schools and in the country will be needed if women are not to continue as a minority group on degree courses for at least the next decade.

The Age Barrier

Mature students have become, both in the U.S. and in Great Britain, a group of much interest to administrators and educationalists, and now increasingly to politicians. They are seen, in particular, as a possible answer to those unfilled places in certain subject areas and in the future as a possible source of supply of students to fill the places which will become available in the mid-eighties as the demographic trends work their remorseless way through the education system. Some workers in adult education could be forgiven for looking at this newly awakened interest on the part of conventional universities with a somewhat jaundiced eye.

There is little agreement on what constitutes "maturity." Some institutions class students as mature at over 23, some at over 35. Institutions vary in their entrance requirements for mature students; some demand standard qualifications; some set "special" entrance tests and some accept essays. Mature students are not the homogeneous body that the widespread use of the term implies.

A recent aspiring applicant to a Research Council for a grant to study mature students in the U.K. wished to study them as people "marginal" to an institution. Ironically, only 25 years ago they would not have been a marginal case, but rather a very common occurrence in British universities. The Forces Education Training scheme ensured that large numbers of mature students from a wide variety of backgrounds entered and succeeded in higher education. It was the younger students who were often then more unusual. Now the situation is reversed. It seems unlikely that it was either the curriculum or the structure of higher education that was changed postwar. It is much more likely that it was the more practical questions, such as the provision of adequate financial support, that were the key to successful study then. These, allied with their motivation, enabled many adults to catch up on past missed opportunities.

The important distinction is not the question of what constitutes maturity, but the distinction between full- and part-time study. On the basis of the Open University experience we would propose that it may often be nonacademic factors which determine whether or not mature students study successfully. Many of them will already be married with children and often holding responsible and demanding jobs. It requires *adequate* funding to ensure that they *can* study without undue stress to their spouse and families. Rarely is this now available. It also requires some relaxation of the sets of bureaucratic and academic requirements which have been developed, maybe quite appropriately, for under 21s, but totally inappropriately for mature students. Some educationalists argue the case for a different and "relevant" curriculum for adult students. We are not convinced by this argument. On the other hand, the case for different structures, regulations, and finance is overwhelming.

The normal definition of "mature" is over 25. Over the last decade the proportion of mature students in universities has crept up from 4.6% in 1967 to 6.1% in 1973. In polytechnics the percentages have been rather higher, culminating in 12.0% on CNAA courses in 1973. In the university sector, each institution determines its own policy toward the admission of mature students and the chances of being accepted therefore vary widely. For example in 1975 mature students formed 20.0% of the student population at Essex compared with only 3.0% at Leicester. As a generalization, it seems to be the most popular universities that often take the smaller number of mature students. Several universities have shown interest in developing agreements between themselves and the Open University to enable mature students to transfer between them. It is clear that some of the initial interest in these arrangements was motivated by the desire of those universities to find a new source of recruits for some of their empty places, particularly in science and technology.

The CNAA sets the overall policy for admission of mature students to polytechnics and is currently engaging in a

TABLE 21
Age of Full-Time Students in Higher Education in the United Kingdom

	Men				Women			
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1971	1972	1973	1974
Base—all full-time students (1000's)	283.5	286.1	290.2	289.0	189.9	195.9	205.3	207.7
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Age 18 and less	10.7	10.6	10.3	10.4	17.0	16.6	15.6	15.5
19-20	35.8	35.6	35.4	35.2	45.0	44.8	43.5	43.2
21-24	37.7	36.7	36.8	36.2	24.5	24.9	26.7	26.7
25 and over	15.8	17.2	17.6	18.2	13.6	13.7	14.1	14.6

Note: Higher education includes universities, teacher training, and advanced further education.

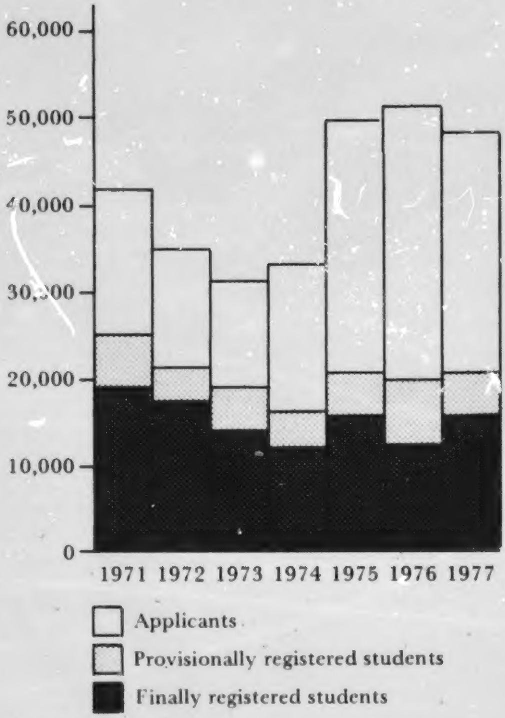
Source: Central Statistical Office, *Social Trends,* 1976.

major review of this policy which may well lead to a change in their entry requirements. While the number of full-time mature students in the country is increasing (see Table 21) the number of part-time students has, with the exception of the OU, barely increased. Existing universities have not been successful in developing part-time courses which have proved attractive to significant numbers of students. They appear to have been more concerned to bend mature students to their existing structure and courses than to change the form of the courses to meet the needs of the students. And, surprisingly, it is only relatively recently that the polytechnic sector has started to increase its number of part-time degree courses significantly.

Academic inertia is hard to overcome. It is difficult to understand otherwise why conventional institutions are so reluctant to change their habits. It is obviously far cheaper for adults to study part-time, although it is not necessarily easier in terms of their personal life. The more people who can be encouraged and enabled to study part-time, the better it is likely to be for the country. If, on the other hand, all that existing institutions are prepared to do is to admit adult students on the institution's own "irrelevant" terms, then it will not be surprising if many potentially very valuable students decide not to apply.

The experience of the Open University has shown clearly that there is a large and continuing demand from adult students to study at degree level part-time if the opportunity is provided in an "accessible" way. It is highly unlikely that the majority of these will ever be prepared or interested in studying full-time. Figure 5 shows the number of applicants, provisionally registered and finally registered students to the Open University over the last few years. The demand has consistently been higher than the university has been able to meet, and although increased fees and the current economic climate appear to have been the cause of a downturn in 1977, the number of applicants was still over 44,000.

FIGURE 5
Applications for Open University Places,
Provisionally and Finally Registered Students*
1971-1977



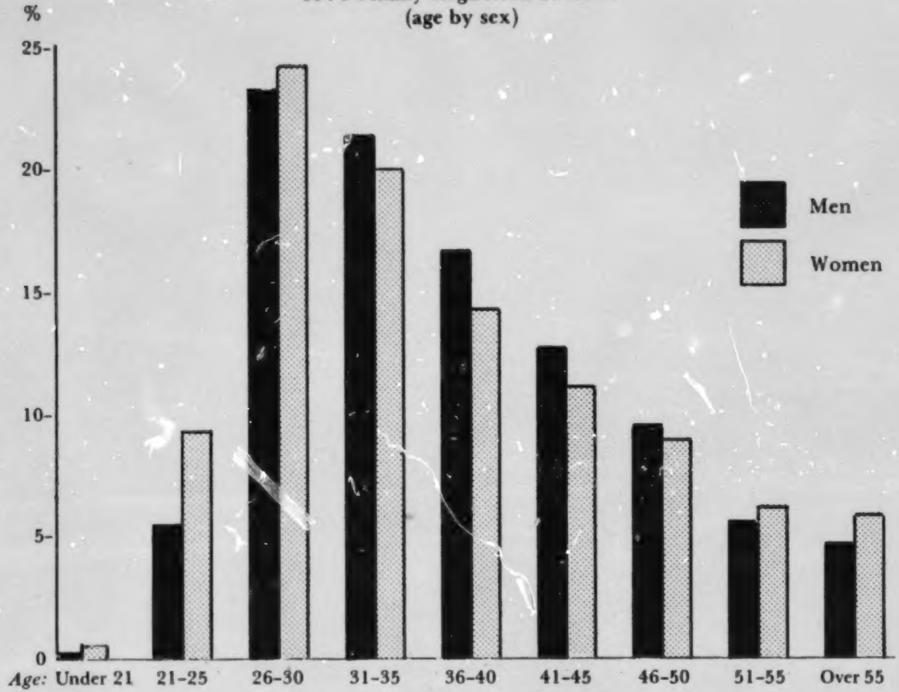
Source: Open University Statistics.

Of course OU students cover a wider age range and are on average older than mature students in conventional universities. The median age of new students in 1976 was 32 and the mean age was 36. The mean age is very similar to that of other comparable institutions—Everyman's University in Israel has an average age of 32 and Empire State University in New York is similar. The OU has no upward barrier on age at all, and continues to attract significant numbers of older students, as Figure 6 shows. Students of over 80 have already graduated.

Some OU students find after starting their studies that they are motivated enough to wish to switch to full-time study. Many universities and polytechnics have accepted OU students on an individual basis either for entry to the beginning of a degree course, or increasingly giving them advanced entry into the beginning of the second year. One polytechnic alone accepted 10 OU students direct into the second year of their social science degree course in 1976. Lancaster, the first university to sign a reciprocal arrangement with the OU, has taken in over 60 OU students, several of whom have now graduated. Reciprocal arrangements have now been concluded with several universities and as such interchange becomes more widespread; the traditional rules about entry for other mature students may well also have to be reconsidered. Certainly the CNAA, as noted earlier, is now undertaking a major review of its policy concerning the admission of mature students. At the same time the CNAA and the OU have negotiated an overall agreement for transferability between the two sectors which, given the numbers involved, cannot but have a major effect on the whole higher education system, particularly as it affects mature students.

Similar discussions are being held with the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, but the tradition of university autonomy dies hard and it will be more difficult to achieve guidelines covering the university sector since each individual Senate has to consider the question for itself.

FIGURE 6
1976 Finally Registered Students
(age by sex)



Source: Open University Statistics

The real pressure for change here will undoubtedly be the same as that which has already been felt in the U.S. In the mid-1980s when the size of the conventional age group has dropped dramatically, the attraction of mature students as an alternative clientele will prove irresistible. Judging by the experience of the OU to date, it will be necessary for conventional institutions to change their structures and become more flexible if they are to meet the needs of mature students adequately. If universities continue to assume that it is the mature students who have to change to fit pre-existing structures, then many potential students will continue to find their way barred.

By admitting students of all ages and, perhaps more importantly, by demanding no entry qualifications, the Open University represents an attempt to create an establishment based on Neave's "individual-centered interpretation" of educational opportunity within a system which, in varying degrees, contains the two other ideologies as well. In this model, education is no longer seen as a sequential process with pupils feeding directly into higher education having followed specific school "tracking" systems, but rather may be taken up whenever the individual perceives the need. To judge the success of the OU in introducing greater equality of opportunity in higher education in this context we must look at the nature of its students and their performance.

The OU has undoubtedly fulfilled a compensatory role in that it has admitted many students without the normal minimum university entrance requirements. In 1971, 29 percent of the new students did not possess two 'A' levels or their equivalent; by 1975 this had risen to 43 percent. In 1975, one in ten of the new students possessed no public certificates whatsoever. Preliminary figures from a survey of new entrants in 1975 indicate that a quarter of the students held no qualifications at the time they left school.

If we classify OU students by their father's occupation we find that over half come from working-class homes and an additional 28 percent of the fathers were in routine nonmanual occupations. This is a dramatic improvement on the situation in conventional universities as outlined earlier. When we look at students' own occupations the OU does not appear to have done so well, with only 5 percent of working students in 1971 being in manual occupations. However, by 1976 this had risen to 10 percent for new students.

What these analyses revealed is that the majority of OU students have been upwardly mobile. Although starting from working-class backgrounds, over one half had attended a selective grammar school and large numbers went directly into teaching or some other white collar job. Many used part of the intervening period between school and entry to a degree level course to gain additional professional or educational qualifications in the further education sector, thereby in addition achieving a great deal of intragenerational occupational mobility. If the OU is to become truly "open" more attention must be paid to those with low educational qualifications and "shop-floor workers." These groups are less likely to have heard of the OU, they are more likely not to apply having made an initial inquiry, and they are more likely to decline the offer of a place. Also, although many people in these groups have successfully graduated from the OU, they find studying more difficult and fare less well than other students, especially in their first year.[26]

---

1. Eric Ashby, "The Structure of Higher Education—A World View," *Higher Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (May, 1973), p. 143.
2. *Group Disparities in Educational Participation and Achievement*, Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1970.
3. Guy Neave, *Patterns of Equality*, Windsor: National Foundation for Educational Research Publishing House, 1976.
4. Barbara B. Burn, *Higher Education in a Changing World, Reflections on an International Seminar.* New York: International Council for Educational Development, Conference Report Number Three, 1976.

5. Burton Clark, "The 'Cooling Out' Function in Higher Education," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LVX, No. 6, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, May, 1960, p. 571.
6. Frank Newman, *Report on Higher Education*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971, p. 3.
7. Fred E. Crossland, *Minority Access to College, A Ford Foundation Report*. New York: Shocken Books, 1971.
8. *Group Disparities in Educational Participation and Achievement*. Vol. IV, Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1971.
9. *Op. cit., Robbins Report.*
10. *Op. cit.*, Anthony Crosland, p. 204.
11. *Op. cit.*, Pratt and Burgess, p. 82.
12. Lex Donaldson, "Social Class and the Polytechnics," *Higher Education Review* (Autumn, 1971), pp. 44-68.
13. *Op. cit.*, Pratt and Burgess, p. 86.
14. Julia Whitburn, Maurice Mealing, and Caroline Cox, *People in Polytechnics*. Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, 1976.
15. M. Couper and C. Harris, "C.A.T. to University–The Changing Student Intake," *Educational Research*, 12 (2), pp. 113-120.
16. *Op. cit.*, Whitburn *et al.*
17. *Op. cit.*, Anthony Crosland.
18. Norman Evans, "Level Pegging," *Education Guardian* (January 27, 1976).
19. Alexander W. Astin, "The Myth of Equal Access to Higher Education," Los Angeles, 1975, mimeograph.
20. *Op. cit.*, Gareth Williams.
21. Leslie Wagner and Anne Watts, "The Costs of Being a Student," Polytechnic of Central London, 1976, mimeograph.
22. *THES* Report (September 30, 1977) on the Committee of Public Accounts Ninth Report, London: HMSO, 1977.
23. Ernest Rudd, "Tuition Fees: Those in Greatest Need Will Suffer Most," *Times Higher Education Supplement* (November 26, 1976).
24. "Award System Discriminates Against Women," *Times Higher Education Supplement* (November 26, 1976).
25. Eileen Byrne, "The Place of Women in the Changing Pattern of Further Education," *Women in Higher Education*. London: Institute of Education, 1975.
26. This account of OU student characteristics and their progress is, of necessity, very condensed. For more detailed information please refer to the following sources:

    Naomi E. McIntosh with Judy Calder and Betty Swift, *A Degree of Difference*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

    Naomi E. McIntosh and Alan Woodley, "The Open University and Second Chance Education–An Analysis of the Social and

Social and Educational Background of Open University Students," *Paedagogica Europaea,* II, (1974): pp. 85-100.

Naomi E. McIntosh and Alan Woodley, "Excellence, Equality and the Open University." Paper presented at the 3rd International Conference on Higher Education, Lancaster University (September, 1975). The Open University, mimeograph.

Naomi E. McIntosh and Alan Woodley, "People Who Decide Not to Apply to the Open University." 1974, The Open University, mimeograph.

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY AND YOUNGER STUDENTS

The new Labour government of 1964 had been faced with the problem of meeting the growing demand for higher education while the country was experiencing a long-term economic crisis. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that it was during this period that the Open University, perhaps the most significant development in higher education in the 1960s, was planned and came into being.[1] Harold Wilson first outlined his plans for such a university in 1963 in a pre-election campaign speech.[2] In 1965 Mr. Wilson, as Prime Minister, put the project into the hands of Jennie Lee, Minister of Arts. It is now generally acknowledged that it was to a large extent her dedicated efforts which overcame the scepticism about the university in the Department of Education, in the universities, among M.P.'s and among adult educators. The Open University was granted its charter in 1969 and the first 24,000 undergraduates began their studies in 1971.

In the words of the Planning Committee, the objects of the Open University were to be:

> "to provide opportunities, at both undergraduate and post-graduate levels, of higher education to all those, who for any reason, have been or are being precluded from achieving their aims through an existing institution of higher education."[3]

By requiring no entrance qualifications and by allowing adults to combine degree-level study with full-time work, the Open University was to be a university of the second chance. It was designed to help those people who were fully capable of obtaining a degree but who lacked the necessary entrance requirements, or had been born too early to benefit from the post-Robbins expansion in higher education, or were currently being barred from entry due to the great competition for places. The University was not designed to be in competition with other universities and it set out specifically to meet the needs of adult students.

It was decided that 21, the age of majority at that time, would therefore be the appropriate lower age limit. (This requirement would be waived in exceptional circumstances for younger applicants who were unable to go to conventional universities for reasons of physical disability, or early marriage and young children.) Several reasons lay behind this decision.

First, it was felt that "to follow a course of study in isolation demanded qualities of maturity that would usually be lacking in people as young as 18.[4] Second, it was felt that what the Open University could offer, although intellectually of a high level, could only be a second best in terms of personal and social experience for people aged under 21. A full-time course with all that it has to offer in the way of social life and the stimulation of colleagues or, in the case of those in employment, a sandwich course or day release, would almost always be preferable for people in this age group. Third, students who had tried and failed to get into conventional universities or polytechnics might end up at the Open University as a last resort. Such students might be embittered and disillusioned and would therefore lack the right sort of motivation. Finally, the University was anxious not to appear to enter into competition with other institutions for students of 18. The cooperation of these institutions was necessary to provide the part-time staff and the space needed for study centers and summer schools.

Many influential members of the Conservative Party were hostile to the idea of an Open University and when the Conservatives returned to power in the summer of 1970 there was a strong possibility that the whole project would be cancelled. However, Margaret Thatcher, then Secretary of State for Education, decided to approve the government grant, albeit at a lower level than had been anticipated and stipulating a lower plateau of student numbers than the University had been planning for. She also requested the University to say what contribution it felt it could make to the provision of higher education in the future.

It is important to place this suggestion in the context of the higher education scene at that time. In the early 1970s the demand for higher education was still rising and it was too early for demographers and civil servants to be clear that the downturn in the birthrate from 1965 onwards was going to be a continuing trend. The possibility that the Open University might have some role to play in the education of school leavers was indeed mentioned by the then Prime Minister Harold Wilson in his speech at the Open University's charter ceremony in 1969.[5] The fact that the suggestion was pursued by a Conservative government as demand continued to increase and resources became scarce should not have been surprising.

The Senate of the University did not on the whole receive the suggestion favorably. The possibility that the experiment could have been conceived in a genuine spirit of educational curiosity was not considered. Combined as it was with a reduction in the planned budget and in the planned student numbers, it was seen by many members of OU staff very much as a political act of the then Government whose attitude towards the OU continued to remain unclear for some time.

In its initial response the Open University made it very clear that any contribution which it could make would best be made in combination with other institutions of higher education. A detailed plan was put forward as to how students at a college of education could combine their normal studies with Open University courses so as to obtain a degree as well as their Certificate of Education. It was also felt that such integrated combinations could be adapted to the different situations pertaining in polytechnics and universities. Another possibility which was put forward was for a sandwich system. Under such a scheme students would continue their studies through the Open University while working full time. This could be before completing their degree at a conventional polytechnic or university or after an initial one or two years in such an institution. These ideas received some support from the government and in fact a pilot scheme involving a college of education was set up and is still proceeding today. However, initial interest really focussed on the question of the direct admission of qualified school leavers.

After prolonged discussion the Open University said that it was prepared to admit 18 year-olds on an experimental basis, provided that unqualified younger students were also included. Consequently a pilot scheme was agreed upon whereby the University would admit five hundred 18 to 21 year-olds in February 1974 and a further five hundred in February 1975. (Subsequently it was decided to admit a third and final intake in 1976.) Both intakes were to comprise two groups, each of two hundred and fifty, one group having two 'A' levels or their equivalent and the other group without these qualifications, the minimum entrance requirements for higher education. A five-year research project was designed to monitor their progress, to test to what extent the Open University is suitable for younger students, and to estimate the level and nature of the demand for Open University places from this age group. This project will be completed by the end of 1978, but some initial findings are now available.[6]

The Level and Nature of the Demand from Younger Students

Assessing the level and nature of the demand from this age group presents its own special problems. First, demand will depend in part upon the level of knowledge and awareness among the relevant population as to the opportunities available. As a great number of people in the 18 to 20 age group have not heard of the Open University itself, let alone the special pilot scheme, it is likely that the number of applications from this age group could be raised substantially by the use of more publicity aimed directly at them. As it was, the limited publicity for the scheme resulted in approximately one thousand applicants in each of the three years. It is from their background and their behavior as applicants that one can derive certain hypotheses as to demand.

Only 43 percent of the younger applicants actually registered as students. This heavy withdrawal was purely voluntary as the Open University offered places to all those who had completed the application procedure. About 30 percent of the applicants each year, despite a reminder, did not return a card confirming their academic qualifications in the summer after 'A' level results were available and therefore their applications lapsed. As a result it proved possible to offer a place to all the remaining applicants. However, some 35 percent of these declined the offer of a place. The true level of demand from this age group would seem to be substantially lower than the number of applications would suggest. One suspects that any increased publicity designed to attract more younger applicants might indeed result in many more applications but these would not necessarily result in more places being accepted. For a great variety of social, domestic, financial, work and academic reasons these younger applicants come to realize that the Open University teaching system is not suitable for them, or that some other mode of education is more suitable, or is indeed available.

Who Are the Younger Students?

The characteristics of the younger students in the pilot scheme are obviously very important. They simultaneously show us who was attracted by the scheme and limit the extent to which we can generalize our research findings.

The younger students did not turn out in fact to be as young as expected. In each intake slightly over one half were aged 20 when they began their studies, one third were aged 19, and only one in seven was aged 18. Also, although it was the intention that one half should be "qualified" and one half "unqualified," only one third of the younger students in each year held two 'A' levels or their equivalent.

It had been expected that the scheme might attract school leavers who (a) were falling back on the OU, having failed to gain entry to a conventional university, or (b) were well qualified, but actually preferred to study with the OU. In reality only 4 percent of the 1975 intake had left school in the previous year and only 8 percent had applied for a place on another course as well as for the OU. Those with good qualifications who did apply had quite often attempted and failed to complete some other form of higher education, or had been prevented from entering it due to personal or domestic circumstances. By and large they were not unsuccessful candidates from UCCA, the national scheme for admission to university.

The absence of school leavers is interesting. Although schools were circulated with details of the scheme it is not certain whether the information got through to pupils or, if it did so, whether teachers encouraged participation in the scheme. Due to the different academic years of the

Open University and conventional universities there is a strong possibility that many in their last year at school would have arranged their route into higher education before the application period for the Open University had really begun. Also it must be remembered that although the experiment was conceived at a time when national demand for higher education was relatively high in the early 70s, by the time the experiment took place in 1974 and 1975, demand had dropped substantially and indeed vacant places were becoming a greater cause for concern.

Not surprisingly the occupational distribution of younger students was unlike that of older OU students. Taking 1975 as an example, teachers formed a sizeable proportion (26%) of the older student group. The numbers among younger students were of course negligible. Almost a third (32%) of the younger group were contained under the heading "Clerical and office workers." This far exceeds the figure of 11 percent for older students, and also for younger people nationally. They tended to be junior civil servants (clerical officers, income tax officers, etc.) rather than typists and secretaries, and were often receiving financial support for their studies from their employer. "Technical personnel" formed the next largest group of younger students, constituting some 10 percent in each of the three years. Housewives formed 17 percent of the first intake but only 9 percent in 1976.

Women outnumbered men in the first intake of younger students but the opposite was true in 1975 and 1976. This was mainly accounted for by the drop in the number of housewives. Despite this the 1976 intake included proportionately more women (48%) among the younger students than among the OU's older students (42%).

Almost half of the female younger students were married compared with one in twenty of the men. Of these married women almost two thirds were housewives with small children. Some had very high 'A' level qualifications but had chosen marriage instead of higher education or a career on leaving school. Others had withdrawn from higher education to get married.

Each intake of younger students contained a small number of physically handicapped people. The Open University has always felt a duty to admit younger applicants who were prevented from attending a full-time institution and so these people would have gained a place regardless of the pilot scheme. Nevertheless, their progress is being followed with special interest.

The Progress of the Younger Students

In general the younger Open University students have not fared as well as their older counterparts. New Open University students pay an initial "provisional registration" fee which entitles them to receive the first three months teaching material. If they decide to continue they pay the "final registration" fee and then receive course material up till the end of the academic year. Each year some 25 percent of the provisionally registered students decide not to pay the final registration fee. However, for each year of the pilot scheme, the corresponding figure for younger students has been close to 40 percent. The youngest group of regular OU students, those aged 21 to 25, have always withdrawn in greater numbers during the provisional registration period and the figures for those aged under 21 would merely seem to follow an existing trend.

Of those younger students who did proceed to final registration, some 38 percent failed to obtain a course credit at the end of the year. This figure includes students who either (a) "failed" academically, (b) wrote in to withdraw, (c) did not fulfill their summer school requirements, and (d) did not turn up for the exam. Overall they fared much worse than students aged over 21, for whom the corresponding figure is only 20 percent. However, those in the older age ranges were also less likely to obtain a course credit. Those aged over 65 fared as badly as those aged under 21.

Once they have successfully cleared the first year barrier, the younger students seem to continue with their studies at the same rate as older students. Those who do continue attempt as many credits per year as older students and also gain credits at the same rate. (Both groups who were admitted in 1974 and were still studying in 1976, had so far gained an average of 1.8 credits towards their degrees.) However, the younger students do not progress as quickly towards their degree due to the OU's credit exemption policy. Credit exemptions are awarded for successfully completed years of higher education outside the OU and inevitably few of the younger students have obtained any. It will, therefore, take younger students longer on average to complete a degree than older students.

The Progress of the Younger Students

Although work on an explanatory model of success and failure is still in its early stages, we can already distinguish certain groups of younger students who fared very well or very badly with their OU studies.

As one might have expected the "qualified" group make better progress than the "unqualified" group. For instance, taking the 1974 intake of finally registered younger students, 63 percent of the "qualified" group were still studying in 1976 compared with only 43 percent of the "unqualified" group. Female younger students are staying in the system longer than men. Of the 1974 intake, 59 percent of the women were still studying in 1976 as opposed to 41 percent of the men. If we consider sex and qualifications together, then "qualified" men are the least successful. Taking the 1974 intake once more, 71 percent of the "qualified" women were still studying in 1976 and only 35 percent of the "unqualified" men.

However, in the context of the Open University "survival" cannot always be equated with "success" and similarly withdrawal is not necessarily a sign of failure. For instance, there are small but significant numbers of students who continue to register for courses without ever obtaining any course credits. On the other hand there are also students who use their Open University credits to gain admission to, and possibly advanced standing on, full time courses at conventional institutions of higher education. Subsequent analyses will obviously require more sophisticated definitions of such terms as "success" and "academic progress."

It is clear that the Open University is providing a successful route to a degree for some younger students. However, taken as a group, it appears to be harder for younger people to succeed. As a result of the present study it should be possible to derive predictive indices which could be used to indicate applicants with a high probability of success. It has already been shown that previous educational qualifications, while being related to performance are by no means perfect predictors. This is because on the one hand such qualifications are often not true reflections of ability due to "accidents" of secondary education, and on the other hand successful study at the Open University requires far more than just ability. The whole study environment and the reasons for studying assume a much greater importance than in the case of a conventional university.

The younger students who were attracted to the scheme were not choosing the Open University instead of a full-time degree course. The latter was unavailable to the majority due to their lack of qualifications, to others due to their family obligations, and to some because they did not wish to give up their career or their financial independence. There would seem to be little demand from school leavers choosing work plus the Open University in preference to a conventional university. If school leavers were directed to the Open University against their will, then one indeed would doubt whether they would bring with them the positive attitudes required for successful study.

Finally, one would doubt whether the majority of school leavers could successfully make the transition from school to full-time work and also take on an Open University course at the same time. Successful younger students in the pilot scheme tend to be settled in jobs or marriage or both. Changes of address, jobs, marital status, etc. on the other hand are frequently cited as reasons for withdrawal. In fact the main conclusion in the final report may well be that student withdrawal is largely caused by changes in personal and job circumstances and that these changes occur more frequently in the 18 to 20 age group.

In Conclusion

Since the inception of the pilot scheme the Labour Party, with its commitment to the basic aims of the Open University, has resumed power. At the same time the drop in demand for higher education and the fall in the birthrate had appeared to have led to a decline in interest in the results of the scheme. However, it is possible that the planners may be confounded and that current trends in the demand for higher education may change. A major "bulge" in the population of 18 year-olds will occur at the end of this decade and possibly again at the turn of the century. Rather than attempting to re-open colleges of education now being closed, or building new institutions, the Open University might be considered as an alternative means to meet these temporary peaks in demand. Alternatively, if Britain were to move towards a "mass" rather than "elitist" system of higher education, then Open University teaching methods, either used separately or as part of an integrated course of study, might well be necessary to help meet the costs of such a development. Finally, whatever the developments in Britain, the results of the younger students' pilot scheme will be of great international interest, especially in developing countries.

1. *A University of the Air,* White Paper presented by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, London: Cmnd . 2922, HMSO, 1966.
2. *The Open University,* Report of the Planning Committee to the Secretary of State for Education and Science, London: HMSO, 1969.
3. A speech by the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson at Glasgow, September 8, 1963.
4. Sir Walter Perry, *The Open University: A Personal Account.* Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1976.
5. A speech by the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson on the occasion of the charter ceremony, July 23, 1969.
6. Naomi E. McIntosh, Sam G. Danks, and Alan Woodley, *The Open University and Younger Students, An Interim Report on a Pilot Scheme for the Entry of Younger Students to the Open University.* January 1977, mimeograph.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Colleges of Education

When the history of higher education over this time period is written, the reorganization of the colleges of education is likely to emerge as one of the most significant happenings. Contemporary commentators differ in their interpretations of how it has happened and how it has been handled, but there is no escaping the sheer scale of the operation, and the speed with which major shifts in policy and planning have occurred.

In the late 1950s it was clear that the demand for teachers in the next decade had been seriously underestimated. By 1964, when the Government was belatedly implementing the massive expansion of teacher training to meet the shortage of teachers, the birthrate had already reached its peak, and since then has continued to decline. Inevitably it took some years for forecasters to realize that the decline was likely to be of a more permanent nature than heretofore. In 1964, the peak year, the birthrate was 18.6 per thousand population. By 1975 this had dropped to 12.1 per thousand in England and Wales, the lowest figure since 1933. The DES currently forecasts a fall of some 600,000 at school over the next five years, the equivalent of at least 25,000 teachers' jobs. They have been much criticized for inadequate planning. This criticism is misplaced. As Gerry Fowler, then Minister of State at the DES, commented:[1] "First, governments do not yet

226

control the birthrate. Nor can they forecast it with precision." He concluded "no greater sin had been committed than to confuse projections from existing trends with forecasts for the future."

The publication of the White Paper, *Education: A Framework for Expansion,*[2] in December 1971 was the first public indication that there might need to be substantial cuts in teacher training. The White Paper made it quite clear that an independent third sector would not continue, and that a strengthening of the public sector was proposed. It proposed a merger in the public sector of polytechnics and colleges of further education. The emphasis of the White Paper, as its title suggested, was, however, still on expansion. The hidden agenda, that many colleges would have to close, was not brought out into the open.

The James Report[3] had attempted to lay down a pattern for the reorganization of teacher training and its academic future. It made firm proposals for a consecutive pattern of teacher training, either in the form of a degree followed by a year's professional training or in the form of a new two-year general qualification—to be called the Diploma in Higher Education, to be followed by a further two years to qualify for a professional degree. That degree was not to be awarded until the teacher had successfully completed an induction year, and all teachers were to be released for one term in every seven years for in-service training. Perhaps its most significant recommendation was to end the training of teachers in monotechnic institutions by combining it with the training of social workers, other professional people and more general liberal arts provision. The key to this was to be the new Dip.HE, which we discuss in more detail in the next paragraph. Implicit in these recommendations therefore was the likely demise of those monotechnic institutions which were not viable on their own or could not easily be merged.

The acceptance of this recommendation by government has undoubtedly shaped the way the reorganization has taken place. However, since the government of education in England and Wales is a partnership and among the partners are local education authorities who have traditionally played a very significant role in this area, as have the churches, the final outcome inevitably represents a degree of compromise on all sides.

Even so, the sheer impact of the numbers had not been foreseen. The White Paper showed that numbers on teacher training courses would need to fall from a maximum of 114,000 to between 75,000 and 85,000 initial and in-service places by 1981. This was followed rapidly by a DES circular[4] which asked local authorities and voluntary bodies for their plans for all the institutions within their remit to be formalized by April 1974. It was not a propitious time for such a request since local authorities were themselves in the midst of a reorganization. The strict timetable the Department laid down could not be adhered to. As discussions continued, so new calculations were made, the economic crisis deepened, and above all the birthrate continued to drop.

The first change to the numbers was made in March 1975 in a DES report entitled *Teachers for the 1980s.*[5] This indicated that the Government now estimated that between 20,000 and 30,000 fewer teachers were required in 1981 than the 1972 White Paper had estimated, reducing the total required for teacher training outside the universities to 60,000. The immediate effect was to add 25 more colleges to the five already on the closure list. The amazing chops and changes in policy over the next two years have been well documented by David Hencke.[6]

By the summer of 1976 a DES paper to the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers disclosed that the number of places planned for was being reduced to 57,000. By November 1976 reports were emerging of a further cut to 45,000 places. In the event this report was confirmed and the beginning of 1977 saw the publication of official proposals by the current Minister, Shirley Williams, which involved the possible closure of a further twenty colleges. Several months of discussion and representations finally culminated in an agreed list of closures announced in July 1977. Commentators have described the process variously as "traumatic" and "apocalyptic!" The final number of colleges to be closed is fourteen. This is not the place to discuss the whys and wherefores of college reorganization. Suffice it to say that such a major reorganization taking place in such a relatively unplanned way is bound to have unplanned results. It is difficult to speculate about these, particularly in the long term. In the short term, it does seem likely that if the major replacement of opportunities is through the Dip.HE, the opportunities for women may suffer unless, as Shirley Williams[7] recently suggested, girls with only one 'A' level are rapidly encouraged to enter Higher National Diploma courses in subjects they have not traditionally chosen!

The effect on the teaching profession will be dramatic, and the short term effects will not be beneficial. Many teachers will become redundant. A shrinking profession will age and there will be fewer promotion opportunities. In the longer term, however, the quality of entrants should improve and there should be more stability of teachers. With the commitment of the government to making teaching a profession, in-service training will become increasingly significant since recent forecasts show that even in the mid-80s it is still likely that fewer than three in ten teachers will be a graduate.[8] It may not be very attractive as a profession to new entrants particularly since it seems to have become a political football.

Taking the longer view, however, it is obviously desirable for teaching to become a graduate profession and for potential teachers not to be trained in isolation from other professions. Provided the opportunities for higher education through teacher training are replaced by opportunities for other forms of higher education, the short-term price may be worth paying. If all the institutions are closed and there is a general reduction in higher education opportunities then educational planners will have been shortsighted.

The Diploma of Higher Education and Transferability of Credit

A discussion of this area would not be complete without some consideration of the genesis and future role of the Diploma of Higher Education. Although it emerged as a specific proposal in the James Report on teacher training in 1972,[9] and has therefore continued to be inextricably linked with the discussion of the future of teacher training, it was originally mooted in September 1969. Shirley Williams, then Minister of State for Education, suggested to the Chairman of the University Grants Committee and some Vice-Chancellors a number of ways in which the cost per head of university education could be reduced. These later became known as the "thirteen points" and included among them was the proposal that some students should take different courses lasting only two years, leading to a different qualification from traditional degrees. It was suggested that there were many students who wished to go on to higher education but for whom a two year qualification might well be more appropriate. This is the pattern found in many countries, notably the U.S., where two and four year qualifications are more common. The suggestion at that time was not linked to the reorganization of teacher training and clearly was not looked at in that way.

The James Committee, as we have noted, had attempted to provide a blueprint for the academic future of teacher training. It laid down firm proposals for a consecutive pattern of teacher training, either in the form of a degree followed by a year's professional training or by taking a new general qualification—to be called the Diploma of Higher Education. This could be terminal in nature for some students, or could lead on to further qualifications of one or two years in length at Ordinary *or* Honours Degree level. These higher qualifications could either be provided through the same institution or students could transfer to other institutions. Transfers could either be made straight away or could be delayed. From the point of view of manpower planning, it would be easier for the country to retrain or divert partially trained people to other occupations. If the current pessimistic forecasts proved wrong and the country became short of teachers again, there would, for example, be a pool of people available for fairly easy conversion. The main objective of the new Diploma as it was ultimately introduced was not to provide a new qualification to be more cost effective, nor to provide an additional opportunity for higher education for a new student population. It was almost entirely related to the possible restructuring of teacher training.

It is still too early to assess the impact of the Diploma. No clear Government directive about its introduction was made and it was left to individual institutions to break new ground. Two institutions, North East London Polytechnic and Bulmershe College of Higher Education were particularly adventurous and mounted Diploma courses in 1974, which have already produced their first small number of graduates. Seventy-seven courses have now been approved by the CNAA in nearly forty colleges or polytechnics. The Government, which had adopted a rather passive attitude initially, changed by the Spring of 1976 to a more positive stance of promoting the new Diploma.[10]

Inevitably the majority of the present Diploma courses have so far been in former colleges of education. Many of these colleges are small, and the range of post-Diploma offerings that they themselves are able to make available is bound to be limited by their size and by the sort of facilities and staff they have. Play has already been made of the type of courses, both Diploma and Degree, that are being proposed. It is far easier for colleges to move straight into Liberal Arts courses than to face the challenge of responding to the country's more urgent needs, particularly when it is not government policy to direct colleges positively into particular areas of work.

While some colleges can make adequate provision for those students who wish to continue in the same institution beyond the Diploma stage, other colleges will not be able to, and many students may either prefer a change or find it necessary or preferable to go into paid employment and part-time study. The reaction of "receiving" institutions to students who wish to transfer will be of key significance in this respect. A leader in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*[11] noted "The worst possible reaction would be one which accepts the diploma as equivalent to the first two years of a degree in principle, but hedges this qualification around with so many qualifications and caveates that few actual students will be able to transfer."

The CNAA, as the validator of these courses, took an early initiative to discuss the problems involved for students and institutions in such developments.[12]

The Open University from its inception has had a particular commitment to the notion of transferability. The Vice-Chancellor is on record as saying that the University was "determined to act as a catalyst for credit transfer in Great Britain."[13] The credit structure adopted by the OU was at that time unusual in Great Britain. Modular degrees are now being developed on an increasing scale, particularly in polytechnics. Nobody expected that other institutions would change their traditions quickly.

By 1976, however, the OU had already negotiated reciprocal agreements for transferability with five universities and with one college of higher education. The stimulus of the CNAA's discussions on the Diploma, the increasing number of students anxious to move between the OU and conventional institutions and the growth of modular courses have all combined to increase the pressure for transferability across the country. Two recent developments in this area are likely to be of particular significance. The CNAA and the OU had been holding discussions on transferability for some time and in July 1977 concluded an agreement enabling general transferability between students on CNAA validated courses and the Open University.

The significance of this agreement, covering as it does over 100,000 students on CNAA validated courses and over 60,000 Open University students, and also enabling interchange between full and part time study is likely to be very great. In parallel, the DES has taken the initiative in calling together all parties in further and higher education interested in the problem of transferability, to discuss the feasibility of setting up an educational credit transfer agency to provide information to students on the negotiability of their qualifications. A feasibility study is to be commissioned urgently. Both of these moves are likely to improve real access within the education system, particularly for mature students.

Access—The Future?

Crystal ball gazing in this area is not easy. Even as we write, demand for places in universities and polytechnics is increasing again. Applications for 1976 and 1977 both showed an increase over the previous year of around 6 percent. Current UCCA forecasts indicate a smaller increase in home applications for 1978 of around 2 percent. While some of this increase can obviously be attributed to demographic trends, it does appear that there may also be an increase in the percentage of school leavers with two 'A' level passes. There was certainly a significant increase in absolute numbers in 1976, the numbers topping 90,000 for the first time. There has also been a small increase in the transfer rate to higher education in the last two years.

One suggested reason for this is increasing unemployment among the young.

The 18 year old population peaks in 1982. This bulge combined with a steady, or possibly slowly increasing qualification and transfer rate, is likely to ensure that demand for higher education remains reasonably buoyant through most of the eighties. However, Shirley Williams in a recent speech made it quite clear that planners expected a sharp decline in the numbers entering higher education in the 1990s.[14] In the same speech she confirmed that despite college of education reorganization there had been no fall in the numbers of girls entering higher education in 1976. She pointed out that there was a wide range of courses available to them, including engineering and other subjects which are traditionally male preserves And in the universities, she noted, there were, in 1976, 20,000 unfilled science places. It does seem a little sanguine to suppose that the mere availability of such places is enough encouragement for girls to change their traditional routes into higher education. It is likely that some more positive encouragement will be needed if girls are not to continue to be disadvantaged in higher education.

The 1972 White Paper had planned for an equal share of numbers between the universities and the polytechnics by 1981. Current government proposals do not adhere to that plan, and propose that universities should be allowed to increase to 310,000 while advanced further education places in polytechnics and colleges are to be pegged at 250,000. This disparity is almost exclusively a consequence of the drastic cutbacks in initial teacher training. It is perhaps a little ironic that, despite the fluctuations during the intervening years, the Robbins' target of 560,000 places in higher education will now be achieved only one year later than the original proposal.

In the short term, higher education faces a particularly difficult few years in which the demographic pressure will hit hardest at a time when increased resources are not likely to be available for higher education. Even if money was available in the country it is not likely that any government would invest in bricks and mortar for the last bulge at present in sight. Current government policy as recommended by the Central Policy Review Staff is one of "tunnelling through"—a graphic description of coping with the temporary increase in numbers with little in the way of extra facilities. By November 1974[15] the then Minister of State, Lord Crowther-Hunt, had indicated publicly the nature of the problems that were to occur at the end of the decade. It now seems possible that government, in proposing the experimental intake of under 21 students to the Open University, may well have had in mind the possibility that the OU might have been able to play a role in relieving part of the on-off pressure on higher education over this time period.

In the medium term, the mid-80s, the peak of demand will have passed through higher education, and the situation will seem much easier. This relief is likely to be short-lived. The decline in the birthrate is likely to be as dramatic in its impact as it has been on other sectors of higher education. Will this impact be negative in its effect or does the educational system in England and Wales have the capacity to respond at all levels constructively to the challenge presented to it?

It would be possible for government to breathe a sigh of relief, close down the unneeded places and divert the resources to other infinitely worthwhile projects. This would be to accept in perpetuity the notion of an elite system of higher education as being the most appropriate for the country. It would be to deny the experience of an increasing number of other countries where opportunities for postschool education have been opened to much larger fractions of the population. The step to be taken is not a large one, after all. The Open University has shown that many adults, screened out through the traditional system, are able to study successfully at degree level.

Fundamental changes will have to be made in the educational system both below and at degree level. The most significant difference between this country and many other Western countries is the numbers of children who leave full time education early and well before the age of eighteen. The "16–19's" age group is increasingly being recognized as the major priority area, particularly by the Labour government. It has recently been described in a *Times Higher Education Supplement* leader as "the last area of expansion the English educational system will see in our lifetime."[16] As so often, it is possible to argue that advances in this area are being prompted not by altruistic reasons of educational desirability, but by adverse economic pressures. It is ironically not the DES which has proposed major new initiatives in the area but the recently set up Manpower Services Commission (1975) responsible to the "Department of Employment." The Holland report[17] in attempting to deal with the increasing unemployment of school leavers has made a recommendation which cannot but have an effect on government policy for financial support for all postcompulsory education. It proposes to pay a flat rate allowance of around £17 a week to all jobless youngsters participating in their education and training schemes. Not surprisingly the education sector has not been too happy about the Manpower Services Commission's proposals. Apart from the professional question of some other government department having substantially more money than the DES, the proposal points up the anomaly of a situation in which the state provides minimum support for children who choose to continue in normal education in school and a far higher level of support for those who leave early, and then, typically, continue in an approved program in a college of further education. The proposal is seen by the teaching profession, in particular, as a direct incentive to children to leave school early, and this is obviously a real danger. However, if it provokes, as it looks as if it may, early action on behalf of government to correct the anomaly and alter the grant support system, then the advances, although made in an unorthodox way, will prove very welcome and may provide an important bridge for those who have traditionally left school at the earliest possible opportunity and realized too late what they had missed.

Change at the bottom end will increase the pool of people potentially interested in carrying on some form of postschool education. Change in the conventions of the existing institutions of higher education would at very little cost, and with a minimum of disturbance, ensure that many more adults, formally unqualified, could in fact enter, participate in and benefit from degree level education. The majority of universities and polytechnics have now devised alternative forms of judgment about a mature student's academic ability which they are prepared to accept in lieu of conventional criteria; selection tests, essays, possession of OU credits and other devices are utilized. Other barriers are often structural and are enshrined in "Charters" or "Statutes." The Northern Universities, for example, are bound by a clause which prevents students graduating less than three years after they have matriculated. Such artificial barriers need to be recognized and changed. They have no 'intrinsic' value.

In a real sense, though, such changes are only tinkering with the main problem. If "the education of adults" is to become a reality, then at degree level and elsewhere the country will need to map out an overall policy for the provision of educational opportunites, and the appropriate financial and personal support which will ensure that, across the board, people who wish to may participate in some form of lifelong learning or education *permanente.* Much is being written about this concept, under a variety of names, and it is the current *fashionable* idea to which most pay lip service. Few countries are yet turning the rhetoric into a reality. The more limited problem of the provision for adults of "higher education" in the traditional sense, the initial remit of the Open University, is an easier one. Existing institutions, by changing their systems and access structures, combined with government and employers changing their financial and personal support, could probably cope with the vast majority of people wishing to study at degree level providing the institutions had the will to change. They might then have the incentive to do so. It is to be hoped that they will. Provision at this level would then take its place as one part of an overall governmental strategy for recurrent education.

The problem of extending effective opportunities for postschool education below degree level to all adults is a more difficult one, and should be distinguished from the question of the needs of the 16-19 year olds. The confusion between the age of the target group and the educational level at which they need to study was the cause of much muddled thinking about the desirability of an Open College. While it is true that many adults would benefit from subdegree level courses, and hence from an Open College, the idea that this would be the most appropriate form of expanded provision for 16-19 year olds is a much less happy one. The progress made by the experimental intake of younger students to the Open University, discussed earlier, suggests that younger students find this method of study harder. It is not one in our view to be recommended as the preferred route either for the young or for the disadvantaged; it is a very hard way to learn.

Much of the wider provision required by adults could be made available through the existing network of further and adult education. Structural and financial barriers, together with rigid educational attitudes will need changing, but it is wrong not to build on the vast strengths already in existence. It may well be that distance learning techniques and resources produced centrally can enrich this range of provision and enable it to be provided more flexibly. It may also be that adults studying part time will need courses repackaged into smaller size units than heretofore, to enable them to study more easily while working. The notion of the accumulation of educational credit at other than degree level is also gaining ground in Europe.

While opportunities for continuing education for adults are undoubtedly important, the key to the real expansion of opportunity lies with the 16-19s. This is the point at which so many of the children in England and Wales lose out in comparison with certain other Western countries. Once out of the educational system it is still not easy for them to return. It is not that we would argue that they should all continue at school; but that there should be better provision for day release for all early leavers, better grant support, and easier re-entry. In particular the opportunity should be taken of using some of the redundant teacher training facilities and staff to experiment with and expand tertiary colleges. It would be nice to think that the twin pressures of the 16–19 year-olds and the increasing needs of adults might mean that this is politically the right time to press for a move towards a more open type of community college structure such as exists in the United States. There seems little sign of any real impetus building up since the 16–19s do not seem a real priority in educational as opposed to employment terms of either party, and the teaching professions seem more interested in battling amongst themselves than in pursuing a more general educational case. Perhaps the most hopeful sign is the increasing interest being taken by trade unions in the wider question of the education of working adults. Their demands are likely to carry more weight, as they did in Sweden, in the development of such policies as "paid educational leave."

The next few years will not be easy ones for higher education. "Tunnelling through" is likely to be followed by "retrenchment" as the birthrate drops. It will be important for those who wish to see change over this time period to plan a coherent strategy for the development of recurrent education, such that as resources are released from higher education over the next decade, these are secured for the expansion of the education of adults and not lost from the overall education budget in the country. If this is not done, then the elitist front end tradition that has dominated education in England and Wales for so many decades may well continue on into the 21st century.

1. Gerry Fowler, *Education Guardian*, November 30, 1976.
2. *Op. cit., Education: A Framework for Expansion.*
3. *Teacher Education and Training, A Report by a Committee of Enquiry, under the Chairmanship of Lord James of Rusholme,* London: HMSO, 1972.
4. Department of Education and Science: *Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector 7/73.* London: HMSO, March, 1973.
5. *Department of Education and Science Report Number 82, Teachers for the 1980s: Statistical Projections and Calculations.* London: HMSO, March, 1975.
6. David Hencke, "The Government and College Reorganisation," *Higher Education Review,* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer, 1977), pp. 7-20.
7. Shirley Williams, "Robbins Plus Twenty," Birkbeck College Foundation Oration, November 30, 1977.
8. Peter Armitage, "The White Paper—A Step in the Dark," *Higher Education Review,* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Spring, 1973), pp. 3-25.
9. *Op. cit.,* Lord James of Rusholme.
10. Department of Education and Science, *All About the Dip.HE,* London: HMSO, May, 1976.
11. "A Crucial Year for the Dip.HE," *Times Higher Education Supplement,* May 21, 1976.
12. *The Diploma of Higher Education of the Council for National Academic Awards,* CNAA Pamphlet (Summer, 1977).
13. *Op. cit.,* Sir Walter Perry.
14. *Op. cit.,* Shirley Williams.
15. Speech by Lord Crowther-Hunt, November 26, 1974, at a conference organized by the North East London Polytechnic at the Royal Festival Hall, London.
16. Leader, *Times Higher Education Supplement,* July 8, 1977.
17. "£17 A Week to Keep Jobless Teenagers Off the Streets," *Times Educational Supplement,* March 23, 1977.

STRATEGIES FOR BROADER ENROLLMENT IN SWEDISH HIGHER EDUCATION

TWO CASE STUDIES

URBAN DAHLLÖF
Uppsala University

with

BIRGITTA WILLÉN
Uppsala University

and

LILLEMOR KIM
National Board of Universities and Colleges

CONTENTS

Introduction Urban Dahllöf 251

Case Study Number 1 259

Distance Courses and Other Forms of External Studies

Urban Dahllöf and Birgitta Willén

Case Study Number 2 301

A New General Admissions Policy

Lillemor Kim

References 323

INTRODUCTION

The 1977 Reform of Higher Education

On July 1, 1977 Sweden took a major step in reforming higher education at the undergraduate level into one coordinated system of colleges and universities. The reform is the latest step in a series of changes which started with the comprehensive school experiments in the early 1950s, followed by the general comprehensive school act in 1962 and acts regulating an integrated secondary school system in 1964 and 1971. The 1971 higher education reform has been planned mainly by the 1968 educational planning committee (U68). It is partly an adaptation to an already emerging pattern of recurrent education and partly an effort to pave the way for such a pattern in a more systematic way. In general, the basic aim of the reform may be said to be to promote social equality, to widen access to higher education–especially among underprivileged social groups and regions–and to democratize and decentralize the decision making (cf. Dahllöf 1977, p. 6).

The reform implies, among other things, an integration of the traditional universities with colleges outside the university system into a unitary system. Thus, new colleges have been set up mainly through merging a local school of education formerly administered by the National Board of Education, a school of social work or some decentralized university courses into one administrative unit in middle size towns. In some cases, university branches have become the core of new independent units as in Karlstad, Örebro and Växjö. A new regional administrative level has been introduced to coordinate planning and resources for local and individual study programs and for single courses. (Single courses, intended for adult students, are of shorter duration than a degree's program. Their length is most often one semester's study, while a full program generally lasts for six semesters, although there also are shorter ones. Single courses are often included in a full program and may also be combined to form the basis for a degree.)

The universities, regions and colleges are shown in Figure 1.1. A general survey of the reform has recently been published by Dahllöf (1977), who also gives detailed references to various sources. The revised system for quantitative planning, which is also part of the reform, has been subject to a special analysis by Bergendal (1977). Finally, Berg and Östergren (1977) have published a series of studies of more or less successful cases of recent innovation efforts which the reform as such is expected to promote.

The following is a survey of some means used to broaden access to higher education as part of the current reforms in Sweden. We will start with

> different forms for external undergraduate studies, especially distance education,

but we will also include

> the new rules of admission and their predecessors in terms of a limited experimental program during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Before going into details, the importance of context and comparability for any cross-national conclusions should be emphasized. Sweden is often held to be an economically and technologically advanced nation which gives priority to a deliberate policy of social equalization by means of a centralized administration which imposes educational reforms "from above." While this strategy may be a prerequisite for bringing about more profound structural changes, it is often regarded as inferior when it comes to problems of new curricular contents and changes of instructional methods and teaching.

In any case, conclusions about the relevance or applicability of any single reform or general innovation strategy should be drawn with regard to the specific context economically and socially, administratively, and culturally. International studies of educational systems in general and governmental planning committees in particular—not to mention the political debate on educational matters—often suffer from a lack of concern for the comparability in fundamental matters of the countries or systems under discussion. A general reform or a specific administrative solution might be quite appropriate for one country but not for another simply because of trivial differences of area and demography or general pattern of administration.

In this particular case it should be kept in mind that Sweden has an *area* roughly comparable to that of France or Spain (which is a little greater), California, Montana and Japan (which are somewhat smaller). The area of Western Germany is about half the size of Sweden. The *population* of Sweden (8 million) is most comparable to the number of inhabitants in Austria, Baden-Würtemberg, Michigan, or New Jersey. The *population density* is consequently low, 18 inhabitants per square kilometer, which is somewhere between the general mean for the United States (23) and Soviet Russia (11). The biggest city, Stockholm, has only about 800,000 inhabitants, and there are many small towns. The northern part of Sweden is sparsely populated with a population density approximating that of most Canadian provinces or Australian states (cf. Dahllöf 1977, ch. 3).

The education system has developed rapidly since 1950. Secondary school matriculation from university preparatory lines amounted in the late 1960s to about 25 percent of the 20 year-old population (Fig. 1:2). More

FIGURE 1:1
Regions of Higher Education, Universities and Colleges in Sweden 1977

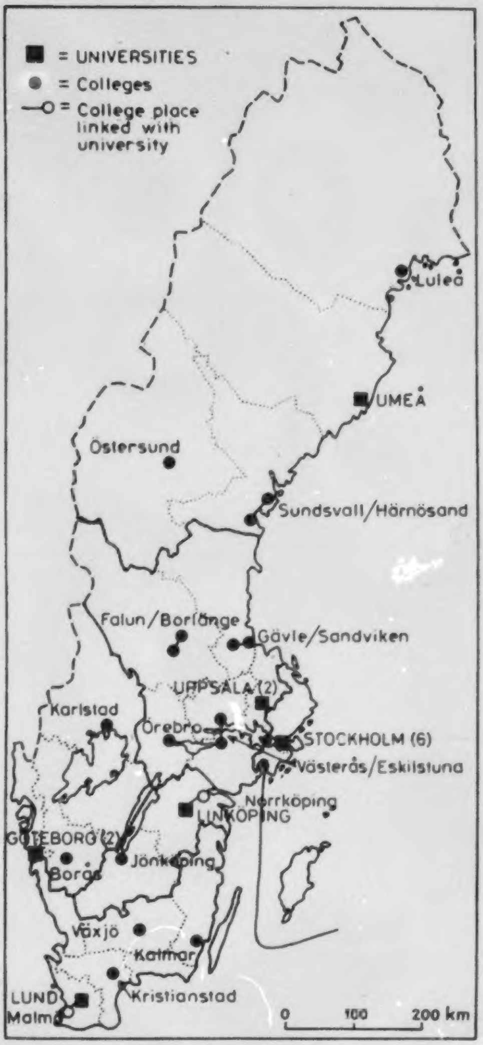
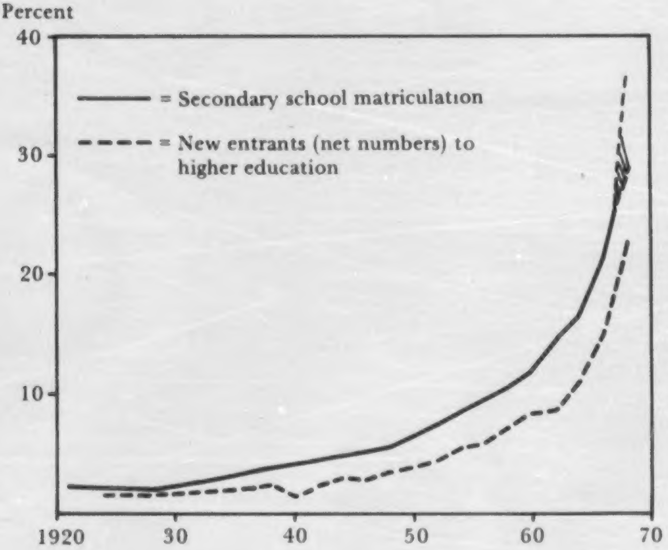

■ = UNIVERSITIES
● = Colleges
—○ = College place linked with university
Luleå
UMEÅ
Östersund
Sundsvall/Härnösand
Falun/Borlänge
Gävle/Sandviken
UPPSALA (2)
Karlstad
Örebro
STOCKHOLM (6)
Västerås/Eskilstuna
Norrköping
LINKÖPING
GÖTEBORG (2)
Jönköping
Borås
Växjö
Kalmar
LUND
Malmö
Kristianstad
0
100
200 km

FIGURE 1:2
Secondary School Matriculation and Enrollment to Higher Education (Percent of population aged 20)



Source: Ekstedt (1976. Tables 3.5 and 3.7).

than 7 percent of the Gross National Product was spent on public expenditure on education (Fig. 1:3). In the 1970s, the proportion of adult students among the new entrants to university studies has increased considerably (Table 1:1) in spite of the fact that students who register only for single courses cannot be expected to stay as long at the university as those who intend to take a full degree. Students 25 years of age or older now are in the majority at universities and colleges (Fig. 1:4). These trends have developed consistently since the late 1960s.

FIGURE 1:3

Public Expenditure on Education in Percent of Gross National Product in Sw. Kronor/Capita

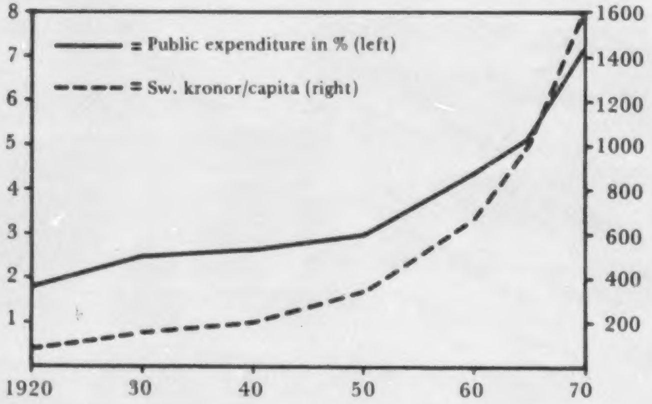
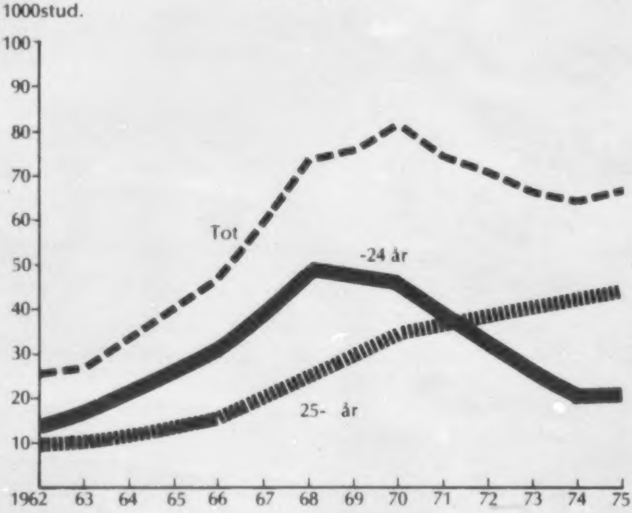


FIGURE 1:4

Distribution by Age of Total Number of Students at the Open Entry Faculties of Arts, Science and Social Science at Swedish Universities 1962-1975



CASE STUDY NUMBER 1

Distance Courses and Other Forms of External Studies*

The problems of comparability touched upon in the preceding section are, indeed, relevant for comparisons between different forms of external studies as well as between main policy steps taken in various countries. This becomes especially evident when one takes distance education into consideration. The impact of the Open University in Great Britain on the international debate often seems to lead people to identify distance education with instructions over the air.

In this particular case it is important to remember that Sweden faces the problem of distance education as a means of widening access to higher education in a quite different context. Creating a large central institution like the Open University can only work when there is a widely diverse target group of prospective viewers and listeners who have access to textbooks and other study materials, in quite specific subjects. In contrast, Sweden has one-seventh of the population of Great Britain as well as a much lower population density. In addition, Swedish universities already seem to have opened themselves to new groups of students to a much greater extent than British or German institutions. Both in regard to basic demographic characteristics and to the actual planning situation, Sweden has much more in common with a country like Australia than with its big European neighbors or the United States.

---

*Parts of this chapter have earlier been published in Dahllöf (1977, ch. 5).

A systematic comparison between Sweden and Australia with regard to distance education has recently been published by Dahllöf (1977). In this connection it may suffice to point out that the basic Australian planning report covers an interesting change of events. It started with terms of reference very much directed towards the British solution and ended up few years later with recommendations to adopt a quite different policy, which does not make use of air media or of any central organization (OTE 1974, 1975; Dahllöf 1977, Chapter 3). A corresponding bias was found in the first phase of the Swedish planning. A governmental committee on radio and television was authorized to design the basic models. The main report (SOU 1975:75) was heavily loaded with examples from systems in other countries based on air media. The Australian case, which, indeed, has a long tradition in this field, was almost neglected and the few lines written about it were heavily biased. In spite of this, the first Swedish experiments, initiated by the U68-committee were, as a matter of fact, very similar to the Australian model. The planning committee finally—as did its Australian counterpart—arrived at basic models which did not favor any central model dominated by air media.

The context is also important for the relation between distance courses and other forms of external study in a country like Sweden, where low population density may preclude different forms of study from existing side by side, at least in the long run. This problem will form the starting point for the analysis to follow; it will conclude with discussion of some problems specific to distance education. In both cases our empirical data have been collected as part of more limited evaluation studies, the main purpose of which has not been a comparative one. Yet, our data seem to be appropriate as a basis for limited comparisons, since international readers no doubt have an interest in a small country like Sweden not so much for its own sake but for its potential as a positive or negative source of inspiration for domestic planning in another setting.

Forms of External Studies

As underlined above, external studies are one of the main means used in Swedish policy to widen access to higher education socially and geographically. The social aim is also promoted by an increase of internal, part time studies, mainly in the form of evening classes.

A certain evaluation study of part time courses has been initiated by the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities (SCB & UKÄ 1976). This study may sometimes be used for purposes of comparison, since part time classes are specifically intended for adults in the university and college towns who work alongside their studies. Unfortunately, this study also contains data concerning students taking the distance programs who have not been treated as a separate sub-group. The population in this study is at present not very well defined in other respects. There is no general breakdown with respect to basic area of study, to mention only one example. It is to be hoped that the data will be subjected to a further, more detailed analysis. At present they can be used only for very limited comparisons.

External studies for academic degrees in Sweden have in recent years taken the following five main forms:

1. "University study circles" organized by any of the free educational associations in collaboration with a university or college department. Such circles can be set up any place in Sweden as soon as there is a sufficient number of interested participants, a competent course leader, and qualified teachers. No formal entry requirements are laid down, but only those who fulfill existing requirements for the corresponding university course have the right to be examined by the university. An inspector is generally appointed by the university from

among the professors or senior lecturers, and usually the staff of a university department is responsible for the teaching, even though this is not included in the ordinary teaching load. The main difference in relation to other forms of external studies is that the participants pay a tuition fee, often several hundred Swedish kronor, although the association also gets some state support for such courses. Otherwise, all higher education is entirely free of charge in Sweden, except for a small sum paid to the student's union.

The number of university study circles is very great and has risen in recent years from about 250 in 1965 to approximately 1,700 in 1973 (UKÄ 1974, p. 19). But except for an administrative survey (SAMSUS 1969), no systematic evaluation has been carried out in this field from any educational point of view.

2. As part of the experimental program initiated by the U68 Committee, a specific type of circle studies was organized in the early 1970s in English and economics. The Universities of Linköping and Lund took the major financial responsibility for the local study circles, organized in cooperation with a free educational association and run mainly by local teachers. The whole system was planned to be supported by videotape lessons and other technical aids. For various reasons this was never carried out. Administrative complications also became quite heavy, so the program was cancelled as a separate one and has been integrated into the distance-education program.

An evaluation study was performed by André (1975), who, among other things, reached some interesting preliminary conclusions, especially about the interaction of different motives for university studies among adults, based on a small sample of questionnaires combined with free responses to open questions and interviews.

3. As the result of another U68 initiative, the first part of a full degree program has in some cases been decentralized to another town outside the university.

Formally, the local school board has been responsible for all arrangements, including the hiring of teachers, but this has been done in close cooperation with an inspector nominated by the university from among its professors or senior lecturers. The corresponding university department has been responsible for teaching and examination. Both full time and part time courses have been organized but seldom both types in the same subject. Originally this program was organized as a means of relieving the universities of a great increase in enrollment, and so far these programs have become a late parallel to the university branches established in 1967 in Växjö, Linköping, Karlstad, and Örebro. Of these, Linköping became an independent university in 1975. The difference in relation to decentralized single courses (presented below) lies in the fact that the students are enrolled for a full academic program and that a guarantee is issued that they will be able to take at least the first two years of the three-year program in their own home towns.

This type of program was called "systematic decentralized education" (*systematiserad decentraliserad universitetsundervisning* or SDU) and a limited number of these programs were organized in three northern Swedish towns, Luleå, Sundvall, and Östersund. These towns later acquired independent colleges, in some cases through a merger with other existing forms of higher education, e.g., a teacher training college, a college of social work, or a technical college. A series of evaluation studies were made by a research team at the University of Umeå by Franke-Wikberg, Johansson and Råberg (1971, 1972).

4. Single courses are sometimes decentralized on the same principles as for (3). In both cases, up to the academic year 1976-77, the UKÄ made the final decisions at the insistence of local communities. During the experimental period, the UKÄ has had a limited budget allocation at its disposal, except for higher courses than

those corresponding to the first semester's study of a subject. In these cases, the government has taken the final decisions.

Decentralized university courses (DU) have been offered since 1962. From 1965-66 to 1972-73, about 40 courses were offered each year, while the number of participants, according to Hammarberg and Häggström (1974, Table 5, p. 17), has varied between 870 and 1,540. Enrollment peaked in the academic year 1969-70 with 62 courses and 1,850 participants. This has to be compared with the university circles arranged by the free educational associations, with their 813 courses and more than 12,000 participants in 1972-73 (*op.cit.* Table 6, p. 21). Further details about the participants in both kinds of decentralized university courses will be found in an evaluation by the SCB and the UKÄ. We shall return to that study in the following sections.

5. The latest form of external university studies in Sweden is distance education. It has been in operation on a try-out basis since the fall semester of 1972 and is one of the family of U68 initiatives. The Swedish experiments are very similar to the basic Australian model. These consist fundamentally of a correspondence course, with additional study guides to the booklist. Other technical aids are also used, mainly audio tapes. Television transmissions have not been used (except in one early experimental course in economics outside the official program), nor have radio broadcasts, except for one experimental series of support programs which was not very successful (Willén, 1975c).

The Swedish model differs, however, from the Australian in three respects:

1. The number of residential schools is greater, which has to be related to the fact that the units are also greater. With some minor exceptions, the courses correspond to one semester's study but are spread over two semesters. In general, the participants concentrate on one course at a time, particularly those who study as

well as work. (The course may naturally be divided into subcourses or units, in which the students are often examined separately, but which still form part of the same general course.) In the typical case, there are at least three residential schools, one at the very beginning, one in the middle and one at the end, but there are also examples of courses which have more meetings.

2. A special telephone service is operated so that the students of a certain course have an opportunity to call their teacher at certain times in the week. He calls them back at the university's expense, either at once or at a time they decide on during the student's first, short call.
3. Examinations were generally held—at least during the first few years—during the residential schools.

The short description above is based on reports by Willén (1975a, 1975b), who is responsible for the evaluation program which is still in progress.

Basic Enrollment Problems

Space, time and the available data compel us to limit the following discussion to some basic problems regarding enrollment. To what extent have the different main forms of external studies succeeded in attracting new student groups to university studies who otherwise would not have been enrolled, due to social factors and geographical distance? Do the different forms compete with or supplement each other? Finally, what does the preliminary information about the student's reactions to the distance programs tell us about the basic problems concerning the media of presentation, the feedback and the division of labour between universities and colleges, according to the Australian network principle?

Selection of Data from Evaluation Studies

For the reasons just stated, we have to confine ourselves to a discussion based on four primary sources:

1. A study by Hammarberg and Häggström (1974) of the enrollment in university circles (UC), systematic, decentralized courses (SDU), and decentralized, single courses (DU) in the academic year 1971-72 in the northern counties of Sweden, corresponding to the new Umea region. This study is the only available one which contains comparable data from three types of external studies, though the available information is limited only to a few basic variables.
2. Another special study in the northern region about the enrollment in distance education in the fall semester of 1974, related to the other types of external programs offered. This study is part of the evaluation program of distance education by Tengling and Willén (1975).
3. A nationwide study of the enrollment in both types of decentralized university courses (SDU and DU) in the fall semester of 1975. This report by Szymczak (1977) was made during the first part of the fall semester and contains mainly data on the background of the students and their present study situations. Very few, if any, variables about the educational problems and the students' reactions are included.
4. Nationwide data from the distance-education program about enrollment, as well as some student reactions to methods and study situations, reported by Willén (1976, 1977). The findings are based on information for the academic year 1974-75. Some enrollment data stem from all new entrants (N = 1,548), while the student reactions are taken from a smaller panel of students who have all responded to two questionnaires, one at the beginning of their studies and one at the end, when all teaching had been finished.

Even though the studies are not based on information from the same academic year, we shall discuss them in this order: Special studies of enrollment for different types of external studies in the northern region; then nationwide enrollment studies for decentralized (DU) and distance

(DiU) programs; finally, a special section dealing with specific problems concerning distance education will be included.

Enrollment for Different Types of External Studies in the Northern Region

As Table 2:1 shows, the four most northerly counties in Sweden have low population densities. Except for Västernorrland County (Y), where there are 12 inhabitants per square kilometer, the population density does not exceed four inhabitants per square kilometer in any of the other three counties. The western part is a sparsely populated mountain area; the central part is dominated by vast forests; and the eastern, coastal region is an agricultural area with several small towns engaged mainly in the wood and wood pulp industry.

High up in the country, north of the Arctic Circle, there are two important mining towns, Kiruna and Gällivare/Malmberget, from which iron ore is transported by rail to the port of Narvik on the Norwegian west coast or to Luleå, a big industrial and commercial centre. Some data for the biggest municipalities in these counties also are shown in Table 2:1. It should be observed that the municipalities in Sweden are often very large and include the populations of big countryside areas.

With regard to institutions of higher education, the towns at the time of the investigation had the following permanent facilities, including systematic, decentralized, university courses (SDU):

Z: Östersund: School of Social Work, SDU
Y: Sundsvall: SDU
Härnösand: Teacher-training College
AC: Umeå: University, Teacher-training College, School of Social Work
BD: Luleå: Technical College, Teacher-training College, SDU

TABLE 2:1

Population of Main and Selected Municipalities in the Northern Swedish Region by County, December 31, 1975

Jämtland		Västernorrland		Västerbotten		Norrbotten	
(Z)	Pop.	(Y)	Pop.	(AC)	Pop.	(BD)	Pop.
Ostersund*	54,100	Sundsvall	94,000	Umea*	75,300	Lulea*	66,300
Strömsund	17,700	Ornsköldsvik	60,400	Skelleftea	72,500	Pitea	35,300
Härjedalen	13,000	Kramsfors	27,900	Lycksele	14,700	Kiruna	31,200
....		Härnosand*	27,000	....		Boden	27,800
		Solleftea*	27,000	Vilhelmina	8,700	Gallivare	25,400
		....		Storuman	8,400		
						....	
						Haparanda	9,000
						....	
County total	133,000		265,000		236,000		264,000

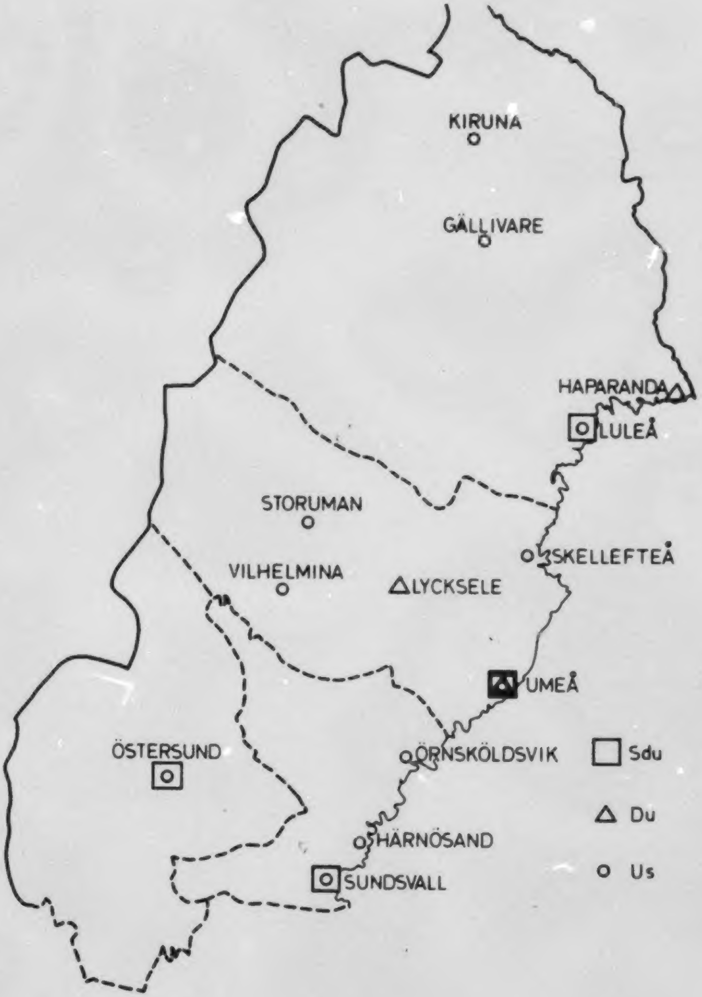
*County town.

The map in Fig. 2:1 shows the university circles (US) and the decentralized courses (DU) in 1972-73, according to Hammarberg and Häggström (1974, p. 87). They sent out questionnaires in the spring semester of 1973 to all participants in external courses registered for the 1972-73 academic year. The response rate was not higher than about 67 percent (see Table 2:2), but, with regard to an estimated early drop out of about 20 percent, they approximated the true response rate among the remaining students to about 85 percent. The respondents are distributed over the course types as shown in Table 2:2.

Although the available information is incomplete, the university circles—at least those which attract the greatest number of participants per course—are in the fields of social science and liberal arts (*op.cit.* Table 36, p. 88). The SDU courses in 1972-73 were distributed as shown in Table 2:3.

A predominance of science courses is reflected in Table 2:3, which is in accordance with the policy for these courses. Thus, in these places, university circles in social science and liberal arts supplement the SDU courses with regard to subject matter area. It should be noted that the number of SDU courses shown in Table 2:2 is only 14. The difference, which is not commented upon by the authors, was probably due to the fact that four courses had finished during the fall semester before the questionnaires were sent out. Finally, we have to be very cautious about the DU programs, since only three courses and 41 respondents are included. Moreover, one of these courses is not a "true" DU course, since it is a full-time course given in Umea by the University of Uppsala in a subject (religious knowledge) which is not taught at Umea University but is included in the program for qualification as a secondary school teacher. One target group for this course is, therefore, ordinary university students (Hammarberg and Häggström 1974, p. 91).

FIGURE 2:1
External Studies in the Northern Region of Sweden, 1972/73


KIRUNA
GÄLLIVARE
HAPARANDA
LULEÅ
STORUMAN
SKELLEFTEÅ
VILHELMINA
LYCKSELE
UMEÅ
ÖSTERSUND
ÖRNSKÖLDSVIK
HÄRNÖSAND
SUNDSVALL
Sdu
Du
Us

Source: Hammarberg and Häggström (1974, Fig. 20, p. 87).

TABLE 2:2
Courses, Participants and Respondents in the Study by Hammarberg and Häggström (1974, Table 34, p. 84)

Course Type	Numbers of courses	Registered participants	Respondents	Response rate, %
University circles (UC)	54	631	431	68
Systematic, decentralized courses (SDU)	14	291	192	66
Decentralized courses (DU)	3	61	41	66
Total	71	983	664	67.5

TABLE 2:3

Distribution of SDU Courses by Subject and Level.
Levels: A = Semester 1; B = Semester 2; C = Semester 3.

Subjects	Luleå	Sundsvall	Östersund	Total Number
Mathematics	AB, C	AB	A, B	5
Physics	AB	AB	AB	3
Chemistry		AB		1
Computer Science	A	A		2
Statistics		A		1
Economics		A		1
Business Economics			A, B	2
English	AB			1
Swedish	AB, C			2
Total				18

Source: Data from Hammarberg and Häggström (1974, Table 36).

Table 2:4 presents information about the social backgrounds of the respondents to the questionnaire from Hammarberg and Häggström (1974). The difference between the systematic, decentralized courses (SDU) and the university circles (UC) is quite clear. The SDUs enroll younger people with a secondary school background at the beginning of their careers, often single and concentrating mainly on full-time studies. In the UC group it is interesting to note the high proportion of participants older than 35 years (50%), the high rate of full-time employment and the educational background. It is not clear from the report whether this reflects the fact that there are many teachers in this group or is a statistical artifact, insofar as many of them have been members of another university circle before. The high proportion of full degrees in the postsecondary group points to the former explanation, but both factors may be combined. In any case, the parents' educational background is relatively limited in all cases.

Finally, 95 percent of all participants live within 50 kilometers of the town where the courses are given and about 80 percent in the town. Thus, all of these external courses have a quite restricted area of enrollment. Hammarberg and Häggström (1974, Table 47, p. 96) have also shown that 8 to 24 percent of the participants have their homes outside the 50 kilometer circle, but this is difficult to interpret, since there is no breakdown of the data with regard to full-time and part-time teaching. Full time teaching is probably common in the SDU courses and also practised in the Umeå course. This strongly influences the DU data, which in turn has the highest proportion of students with their homes outside the 50-kilometer region. So far, this case reflects the traditional pattern of full-time university students.

Let us now proceed to the problem of enrollment for distance education in relation to other forms of external studies. Tengling and Willén (1975) first reported on the

TABLE 2:4

Social Background of Participants in Three Forms of External Studies in the Northern Region of Sweden

(Percentages)

Variables	University Circles UC (*N* = 431)	Decentral. Courses DU (*N* = 41)	Syst. Dec. Courses SDU (*N* = 192)
Age			
-24	7	26	56
25-34	39	36	34
35-44	31	15	5
45-	19	23	5
No information	4	—	—
	100	100	100
Married or cohabiting	78	55	43
Children	70	42	28
Full-time employment parallel to studies	76	28	16
White-collar occupation	92	85	87
Educational Background			
Lower than secondary	6	10	3
Secondary	26	27	67
Postsecondary	67	63	27
No information	1	—	4
	100	100	100
Parents' Education			
Lower than secondary: Father	73	80	66
Mother	74	85	73
Distance between Home and Course Locale			
Within 50 km	95	95	95
In course locale	80	80	76

Source: Data from Hammarberg and Häggström (1974).

programs of nondistance, external courses in the northern region for the academic year 1974-75. A summary is given in Table 2:5. Here, the number of DU courses is much greater. It is striking how many university circles were offered and how few of them really got started (only 18 percent). The strong concentration of all kinds of external courses in the large county centres is also remarkable. Only four of 47 courses are located outside the industrial and commercial centres, Burträsk, Lycksele, Haparanda, and Jokkmokk. In the last two cases, the courses deal with the Finno-Ugrian languages in local centres for the Finnish- and Lappish-speaking minorities.

Thus, it seems that the free educational associations have also had difficulties in acquiring a sufficient number of participants outside the regional centres.

What subjects are taught and what about the distance programs? Answers to these questions are given in Table 2:6. In the nondistance programs, the social sciences predominate. Of these, business economics has nine of the 19 courses. English has five courses and mathematics four. In the distance programs, only courses offered by the University of Umeå are included here, due to the region's size and enrollment (cf. Willén 1976). During 1974-75 Umeå distance courses covered 17 subjects, eight in the social sciences. Of the 17 subjects, five were also offered as a nondistance external course at one or two places within the region during the same semester (Fall 1974). As a rule, people did not enroll for the distance courses if they lived in the Umeå area (except for a very few persons with serious handicaps). The remaining possible overlap between distance and nondistance enrollment is shown in Table 2:7.

The geographical enrollment for the distance and nondistance external courses are summarized in Table 2:8. It is quite evident that when the same course is offered both as a distance course from Umeå and as a nondistance external course in the vicinity, people prefer the local

TABLE 2:5

Number of Nondistance Courses Offered and Started

County	Town or locality	US		DU		SDU		Total started
		Offered	Of which started	Offered	Of which started	Offered	Of which started	
Z	Ostersund	2	—	6	6	3	3	9
Y	Härnösand	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Sundsvall	11	—	5	4	5	5	9
	Örnskoldsvik	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
AC	Burträsk	1	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Lycksele	—	—	1	1	—	—	1
	Skelleftea	4	2	1	1	—	—	3
	Umea	7	1	1	1	—	—	2
BD	Haparanda	—	—	1	1	—	—	1
	Jokkmokk	—	—	1	1	—	—	1
	Kiruna	14	5	—	—	—	—	5
	Lulea	34	6	5	5	4	4	15
	Pajala	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pitea	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total		81	15	21	20	12	12	47

Source: Data from Tengling and Willén (1975, Table 18).

TABLE 2:6

Distance and Nondistance Courses Related to Subject-Matter Areas in the Northern Region 1974-1975

	Nondistance				Distance		
Subject area	University circles	Decent. courses DU	Systematic dec. SDU	Total non-nondist.	Same as nondist. same term	Others	Total
Science	3	3	3	9	1	1	2
Social Science	5	9	5	19	3	5	8
Law	2	—	2	4	—	—	—
Liberal Arts	3	2	—	5	—	3	3
Languages	2	6	2	10	1	3	4
Total	15	20	12	47	5	12	17

Source: Data from Tengling and Willén (1975, Tables 1 and 18).

TABLE 2:7
Subjects Offered in Parallel as Distance and Nondistance Courses in the Northern Region in 1974-5

Subject	Distance course from	Nondistance courses Syst. dec. SDU	Decentral. DU
Physics A[a]	Umeå	–	Östersund
Statistics A	Umeå	Luleå	–
Economics	Umeå	Sundsvall	–
Education	Umeå	–	Östersund
English A	Umeå	Luleå[b]	Östersund Sundsvall Luleå

[a] The courses vary somewhat with regard to contents.

[b] An AB course planned for two semesters.

Source: Data from Tengling and Willén (1975, Tables 1 and 19).

course when the physical distance is no longer than 50 kilometers. Local external courses have difficulties in enrolling participants living further away than 50 kilometers. In the latter respect, the findings agree with the data from another independent sample by Hammarberg and Häggström (1974), as shown in Table 2:4.

TABLE 2:8
Distance Between Home and Course Locals in Nondistance External Programs for Students Participating in Distance and Nondistance External Programs

Distance between home and nondistance course locale	Distance program	Nondistance external program
	%	%
Within 50 km	8	93
Further than 50 km	92	7
Total	100	100
N	158	175

Source: Tengling & Willen (1975, p. 30)

So far, there are strong indications that distance and local external courses do indeed supplement each other and that distance-education programs have a unique potential for enrolling people living in small communities and in the countryside far from a regional centre. The distance of 50 kilometers as a critical commuting limit for workers has long been recognized by Swedish geographers (cf. Weissglass 1975, Hammarberg *et al.* 1977a, 1977b).

Enrollment Trends for Distance Studies and Local External Courses

In this section we shall look at an investigation which is more representative of decentralized, local, external courses. The data reported by Szymczak (1977) cover the whole population, but no distinction has been made so far between SDU and DU courses. This means that a lot of full-time students are included, especially in the science area. These data were collected in the fall of 1975 (N = 1,539) and they are compared here with panel data from the distance program (N = 799) for the academic year 1974-75 (Willén 1977).

A first survey of the two sets of data is given in Table 2:9. As another point of reference, the distribution of students by subject fields is also included for internal part-time studies in general, according to the study by the SCB and the UKÄ (1976) mentioned briefly above. That study also contains data from the distance courses, so there is some overlap. The population is not quite clearly defined, but, on the other hand, it is the only available set of data from internal arrangements aimed at enrolling adults.

The data shown in Table 2:9 indicate that both sets of external data are quite evenly distributed over the different subject fields, with somewhat greater stress on languages in the distance courses and on behavioural sciences in the local external programs.

The ratios between the sexes vary between the subject fields (Table 2:10), with a high proportion of women in

TABLE 2:9
Distribution of Students by Subject Fields for Distance Courses, Local External Courses and Internal Part-Time Courses
(Percentages)

Subject Fields	Distance Courses DiU	Local External DU + SDU	Internal Part-Time
Languages	25	9	17
Historical Studies	10	7	15
Behavioural Sciences	10	29	14
Administrative Subjects	19	22	25
Economic Subjects	18	21	
Law	—	—	16
Natural Sciences	18	12	14
Total	100	100	100
N	797	1,539	2,977

Sources: Willén (1977), Szymczak (1977) and SCB and UKÄ (1976).

languages and behavioural sciences and a male predominance in economic subjects and natural sciences. In all there is only a slight majority of male students.

Table 2:11 presents some examples of background variables for the two main types of external studies. Findings are reported for the totals as well as for three subgroups, representing both different ratios between the sexes and types of study.

The overall trend shown in Table 2:11 is that both types of external studies have been quite successful in attracting adults. The great majority of them keep on working while taking part-time courses which comprise the distance programs. A majority of the students register for single courses rather than for full programs.

The educational background varies greatly in both cases. Compared to Australian data, the proportion of teachers (as part of the postsecondary group in this case) is relatively low, while the proportion of those with a less-than-secondary education is 20 to 30 percent. In this respect,

TABLE 2:10

Ratios Between the Sexes Related to Subject Field for Distance Studies, Local External Courses and Internal Part-Time Courses

(Percentages within each group)

Subject Fields	Distance Courses DiU		Local External DU + SDU		Internal part-time	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Languages	22	78	15	85	31	69
Historical Studies	44	56	41	59	30	70
Behavioral Studies	51	49	29	72	33	67
Administrative Subjects	75	25	61	39		
Economic Subjects	75	25	78	22	73	27
Law					79	21
Natural Sciences	76	24	86	14	79	21
Total	56	44	53	47	56	44
N	448	349	808	731	1,656	1,321

Sources: Willén (1977), Szymczak (1977) and SCB and UKÄ (1976).

TABLE 2:11

Background of Students in Distance Courses (DiU) and Local External Courses (LE)

(Percentages within each group.)

Variables	Total DiU	Total LE	Of which languages DiU	Of which languages LE	Admin. subjects DiU	Admin. subjects LE	Natural sciences DiU	Natural sciences LE
Age								
-24	9	21	3	17	4	16	13	45
25-34	47	44	40	36	53	46	53	38
35-	44	35	54	48	44	38	34	17
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Educational Background (highest)								
Lower than secondary	21	31	15	—	36	—	16	—
Secondary	33	33	38	—	35	—	30	—
Postsecondary	45	36	44	-	30	—	54	—
	99	100	97		101		100	
Goal								
Single course	61	63	63	64	55	70	76	68
Work parallel with studies	78	66	65	47	86	74	85	60

Sources: Willén (1977) and Szymczak (1977).

TABLE 2:12
Geographical Enrollment for Distance and Local External Studies

Variable	Distance courses Umeå	 All others	Local external
Within 50 km	3	23[a]	92
Further than 50 km	97	77	8
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
N	577	971	1,539

[a] Of which Uppsala 9, Växjö 24, Göteberg 41, Linköping 17 and Lund 41.

the variation between fields of study seems to be great. As many as 36 percent of those taking administrative subjects did not complete secondary education, while 54 percent of the distance students in natural sciences have postsecondary training.

In regard to age, we have to remember that the systematic, decentralized courses, with their stress on full-time studies in natural sciences, are included in the local external group, which partially explains the high proportion of young students in that group. About 45 percent of all distance students are 35 years of age or older.

The geographical enrollment (Table 2:12) for local external courses within the 50-kilometer radius is still very high (92 percent). In this particular case, we have been able to use more comparable data than elsewhere, since the distance courses are represented here by information on all students at the beginning of their first semester, parallel to data concerning the local externals.

The great variation for distance studies—Umeå is extremely low (3 percent) while Lund and Göteborg are relatively high (about 40 percent)—can probably be traced to at least two factors.

1. Umeå took deliberate steps to enroll people from remote areas and excluded applicants from the Umeå

TABLE 2:13

Comparison of Distance Between Home and University for Three Categories of Prospective Students in Distance Education (Percentages)

Category	Distance in kilometers: -49	50-99	100-199	200-	Total	*N*	No. of courses
Umeå: Fall 1974							
Inquiries	2	12	18	68	100	137	3
Applicants n.a.	22	3	39	56	100	101	3
Participants	2	7	37	54	100	98	3
Umeå: Spring 1975							
Inquiries	4	8	23	65	100	128	
Applicants n.a.	–	7	30	63	100	46	1
Participants	–	3	23	74	100	34	1
Uppsala: Fall 1974							
Applicants n.a.	3	12	58	26	100	31	2
Participants	10	17	50	23	100	66	2
Linköping: Spring 1975							
Applicants n.a.	27	12	35	26	100	230	3
Participants	16	19	52	13	100	128	3
Göteborg: Fall 1974							
Applicants n.a.	68	19	8	5	100	111	2
Participants	35	35	17	13	100	66	2
Göteborg: Spring 1975							
Applicants n.a.	71	15	14	–	100	48	1
Participants	44	23	21	12	100	61	1

Note: n.a. = not accepted.

Source: Data from Willén (1976, Table 5, p. 46).

region, who were referred to internal, part-time courses (see above). Göteborg and Lund may have been more formal in their enrollment policy.

2. While they don't compare to cities like Sydney and Brisbane in size and communications, Göteborg and Lund/Malmö resemble metropolitan areas. The absolute number of adults who have difficulties in following internal, part-time courses regularly is probably much greater there than in Umeå, with its relatively concentrated settlement. So it is possible that the higher figures for Göteborg and Lund should, after all, be interpreted as indicators of a "Sydney-syndrome," as discussed in the preceding chapter.

This interpretation receives some independent support from another analysis by Willén (1976). In order to test whether a long commute to the university discourages students, she has compared:

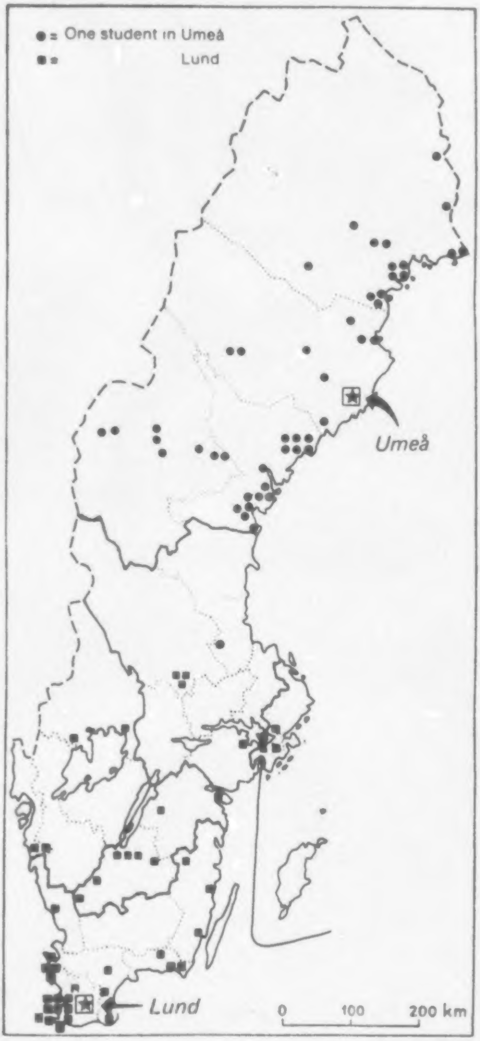
- those inquiring but not sending in any application
- applicants not accepted
- participants

Table 2:13 shows no indications of any systematic, inhibitory effects of long distance on participation in the distance-education programs. The proportion of short-distance applications is very high in the Göteborg area, which seems to support the preliminary conclusions about the difficulties that some people have in following internal, part-time courses in metropolitan areas. The data from Linköping corroborate this. In this case, another industrial town and administrative centre, Norrköping, with 119,000 inhabitants (Linköping has 109,000), is situated within the 50-kilometer radius.

In her analysis of the high number of application rejections, Willén (1976, ch. 7) has stressed the impact of advertising and information on enrollment. She distinguishes between national and local information and general and selective information. For one of their physics courses,

FIGURE 2:2

Geographical Distribution of External Students Participating in Distance Courses in Economics at the Universities of Lund and Umeå*


● = One student in Umeå
■ = Lund
Umeå
Lund
0
100
200 km

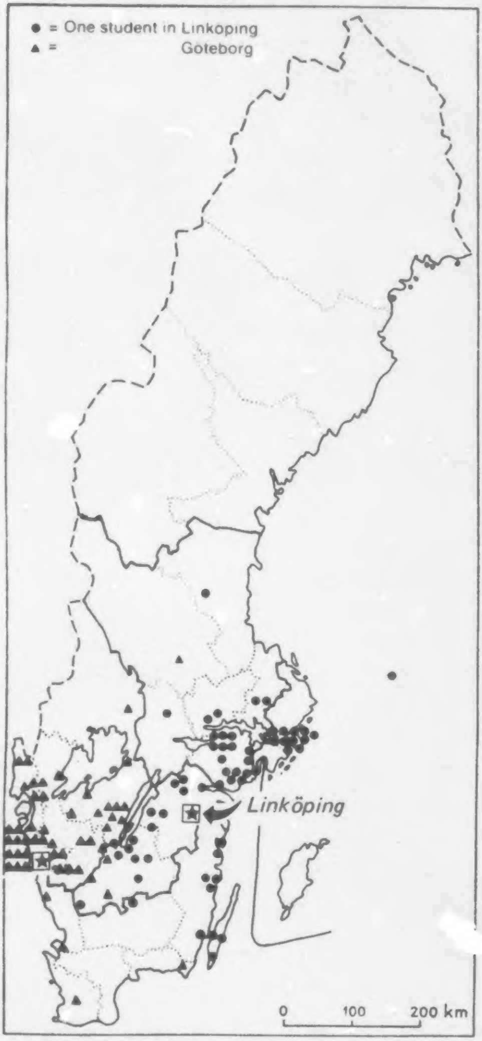
*The enrollment areas do not overlap. The University of Lund enrolls students far north of its own region.

Linköping informed specific target groups by selective advertising nationally. In Umeå, the university distributed pamphlets to every household in the region outside Umeå. Some other universities have advertised in national newspapers but not in the local press.

The enrollment from other regions differs as much as between universities. To some extent, this also has to do with the sizes of the regions and the location of a university in relation to the borders of a region. Despite the high proportion of participants living far away from Umeå, only 2 percent of the distance students do not belong to the Umeå region (Willén 1976, Table 6, p. 46). On the other hand, several others have proportions of about 20 to 35 percent, especially when a course has been the only one in the country and been designed for specific target groups, as in the exceptional case of Linköping (69 percent). In Göteborg, the regional border south of the city cuts off a great many people who commute daily to work in Göteborg or Mölndal. In this connection, regions form clusters of counties that were primarily formed for planning and administrative purposes. Application and enrollment are not affected by the regional borders.

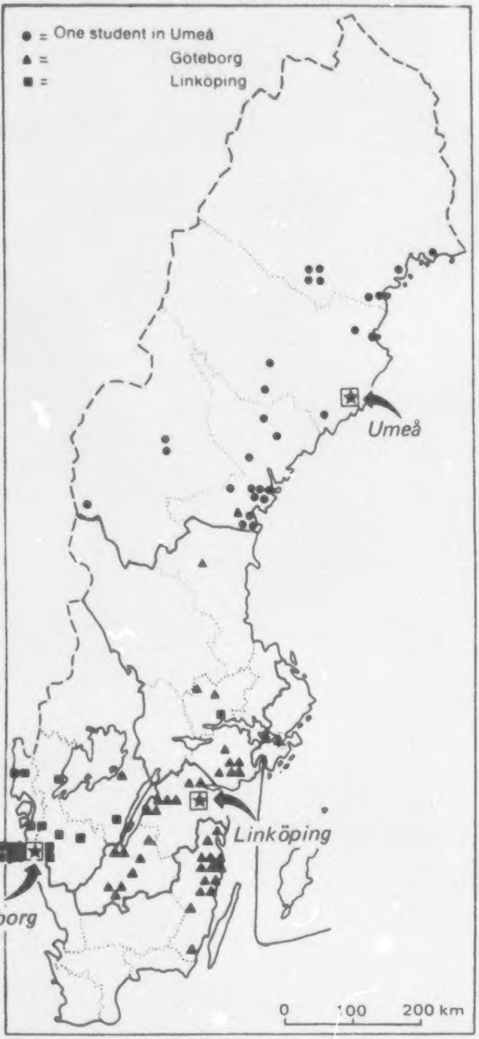
Finally, Willén (1976) has made a special investigation of enrollment when two or more universities offer the same study course during the same semester. All in all, there are nine such cases. In six of these, Umeå and one other university are involved. There is, as yet, only one case in which three universities are involved, one of which is Umeå. Figures 2:2 to 2:4 show the distribution of participants in the following three cases in which (1) Lund and Umeå (economics; (2) Göteborg and Linköping (English A); (3) Göteborg, Linköping and Umeå (English B) are involved. Together with the other maps published by Willén (1976), Figs. 13-21, pp. 53-61), it seems justifiable to draw the following preliminary conclusions: The large but sparsely populated Umeå region is never affected by parallel courses at

FIGURE 2:3
Geographical Distribution of External Students Participating in Distance Courses in English Arranged the Same Semester by the Universities of Göteborg and Linköping*


● = One student in Linköping
▲ = Göteborg
Göte-
borg
Linköping
0
100
200 km

*The enrollment areas do not overlap considerably, but each university enrolls students outside its own region.

FIGURE 2:4
Geographical Distribution of External Studies in a Case when the Same Course in English* is Arranged by the Three Universities of Umeå, Linköping and Göteborg†


● = One student in Umeå
▲ = Göteborg
■ = Linköping
Umeå
Linköping
Göteborg
0 100 200 km

---

*Second semester's study.

†The overlap is small but the universities in the southern part of the country to some extent enroll students outside their own regions.

other universities. In the southern part of the country, each university seems to have its own characteristic enrollment area, which is often somewhat greater than the region to which the university belongs.

With regard to future policy, we must bear in mind the "recency" effect when a new subject or form of study is introduced. The accumulated need results in a high rate of participation at the beginning, which, other things being equal, is followed by a decrease in relative enrollment. We must also remember that enrollment has been quite restricted during the experimental period (down to 30 students in a course offered for the first time). When such restrictions are removed from the system, a department offering distance education will no doubt increase its capacity considerably.

As far as we can see, it is doubtful whether there will be any long-run need for distance education in the same subject from more than three or four universities, Umeå included. This seems to be an upper limit for popular subjects, provided that the same course is offered by parallel institutions every semester. For less popular subjects, the number of distance-education institutions will probably have to be still more limited. The situation will change if the pattern of distance education is modified, as discussed below.

In any case, it seems probable that the participation of all the universities in a traditional distance education program in the same subjects would be too repetitive. So far, Sweden seems to have a need for cooperation between universities and colleges corresponding to the network principle discussed in Australia.

Study Problems in Distance Courses

At the end of the study period, the 1974-75 students were asked a series of questions about their reactions to distance education in general, as well as to various methods and

TABLE 2:14
Some General Reactions to Distance Education, at the End of the Study Period
(Percentages)

Variable	Total	Type of study			Educ. Background	
		Lang.	Adm.	Sci.	Lower than sec.	Univ.
N	797	201	147	144	167	216
General Satisfaction:						
Very satisfied + relatively satisfied	90	91	94	88	92	89
Residential schools are important	77	75	82	83	82	73

Source: Data from Willén (1977).

TABLE 2:15

Components of Distance-Education Programs Rated with Regard to Their Importance to the Participants

(Percentage "very important" + "important.")

Component	Total	----Type of Study----			----Background----	
		[illegible]ges	Adm. subj.	Science	Lower than secondary	University
More A courses	78	57	90	70	82	71
More B courses	63	54	69	60	53	67
Longer study time	22	31	17	15	23	26
More residential schools	31	29	34	19	35	19
Fewer residential schools	3	3	3	2	2	6
Study circles	36	39	32	26	40	33
Letter contacts	48	50	43	46	51	41
Telephone contacts	46	46	52	37	48	39
Study guidance	43	44	49	38	51	28
Taped lecture	51	68	52	35	48	46
Radio broadcasts	30	31	28	26	28	31
Television broadcasts	29	29	24	25	31	25

Source: Data from Willén (1977).

natural that university-trained people, including many professional teachers, should not need study guidance or residential schools to the same extent as those less accustomed to higher studies.

About 30 percent of the nondegree secondary students would like increased radio and television broadcasting as well as more residential schools. We know with regard to their present frequency (cf. Table 2:14) that the residential schools are highly appreciated. The figures for the increase in Table 2:15 must be seen in relation to the fact that they already do play quite an important role for the system.

In regard to radio and television broadcasting, the situation is the opposite. These media are not used for direct transmission over the air, and only about 30 percent of the students ask for them. Despite the general popularity of the media, the findings in Table 2:15 do not give any strong support to their use in higher education programs. So far the practical conclusions are the same as those of the TRU-committee (SOU 1975:72), even though they were based on a somewhat biased presentation of the conditions in other countries.

In general, the total pattern of findings in Table 2:15 seems to corroborate the Australian experience, supporting the conclusion that strengthening feedback processes should take precedence over embarking on expensive means of presentation over the air. The high figure in favor of taped lectures also supports the Australian conclusions about the need for presentation flexibility.

So far we have been dealing mainly with some general attitudes and ratings. The next step is to take a further look at the real study situation for the students. We remember from Table 2:12 that the great majority of the students worked in addition to studying. The number of fixed teaching hours was limited to the few residential schools at the university. Their number varied somewhat specific problems. Some general reactions are summarized in Table 2:14. As before, we have reported the findings for some typical subgroups, besides the grand total. The general level of satisfaction is high, even at the residential schools, though at a somewhat lower level. To this it should be added that about 55 percent of the participants in the northern region would not have been studying if there had been no distance program (Tengling and Willén 1975, p. 19). The corresponding figure for decentralized, local, external courses (DU + SDU) was 50 percent for the whole country (Szymczak 1977, Table 47).

The panel also rated the importance of different components in distance programs. The main findings are shown in Table 2:15. Here the most important thing is not the absolute size of the percentages but the relations between components and subgroups. It is, of course, difficult to interpret the pattern of findings without a more detailed knowledge of the extent to which different components have been used.

In fact, the most important needs seem not to be connected with the forms of distance education but rather with the basic content structure of the program. All the subgroups (even those not shown in Table 2:15) asked, above all, for more courses to choose from, especially at the A level (i.e., first semester courses) but also at higher levels. In this respect, there is a typical and understandable difference in regard to educational background. It is primarily the teachers and other people with a university training who want more advanced courses, but the difference is not great.

Another main finding is the relatively high figures for components referring to feedback in terms of letter and telephone contacts as well as study circles. Study guidance is stressed to about the same extent, especially by those of a more limited educational background. It seems quite between the subject fields according to Table 2:16. They are most common and lasting for a greater total number of days in the natural sciences, which is due to the greater need of supervised laboratory work in these subjects. This also accounts for the greater number of teachers involved in the sciences. In general, however, in all kinds of subjects one teacher was responsible for the main part of the instruction program and for student contacts. At times, other teachers assisted on special topics or on a general survey of trends in research.

The panel technique allows us to study not only how the participants planned to perform their studies in the very beginning of the course, but also how they actually behaved according to their retrospective reports at the end of the second semester. This is done in Table 2:17, which among other things, shows

- that 68 percent planned to work full-time besides studying and that 65 percent actually did so;
- that full-time employment was less common among those who studied languages but more prevalent among teachers;
- that 64 percent had to make a break in their studies at different occasions and that 28 percent carried on other studies as well (at least for some time);
- that breaks and other studies were less common among science students and teachers;
- that about 50 percent planned to study at least 10 hours a week but that only 34 percent succeeded in doing so;
- that the reduction from planned to actual number of study hours was not so great among those who took science;
- that those with the most limited educational background spent more hours per week on their studies, both according to their plans and in actual practice.

TABLE 2:16
Residential Schools and Number of Teachers Involved in Distance Education

Subject Field	Number of Sessions	Total number of days	Number of teachers per course
Languages	3.3	14.4	5.1
Historical Studies	3.0	7.8	4.5
Behavioral Sciences	5.4	13.1	5.3
Administrative Studies	5.3	13.0	4.2
Economic Subjects	4.6	10.4	3.1
Natural Sciences	5.7	18.0	7.3
Total	4.6	13.2	5.1

The telephone service is a special arrangement which was highly appreciated. Table 2:18 shows that about 70 percent of the students had called their teacher at least once on their own initiative, while about one third of the teachers had called the students.

Another set of questions asked the participants to rate the extent to which their teachers were successful in different aspects of their teaching roles. In most respects related to traditional teaching aspects, the ratings indicated quite successful performance. However, students raised a limited number of complaints (Table 2:19) about study techniques and research information.

Pass Rates

Full-time students have often shown pass rates in open access departments in the region of 40 to 60 percent (UKÄ 1970, 1971, 1972), which at a closer inspection are not as bad indicators of efficiency and success as might be believed. Almost nothing is known about part-time students in this respect, although they might be expected to be generally less successful than full-time students due to the alternatives to take another course, e.g., arranged by a free

TABLE 2:17
Planned and Actual Study Situation in the Distance Courses
(Percent in each subgroup)

Variables	Total	Of Which			Lower than sec.	Teachers
		Lang.	Adm.	Sci.		
Employment Situation						
Full-time work–planned	68	50	79	79	64	82
–actual	65	43	78	75	67	72
Study Situation (actual)						
Breaks at times	64	70	65	57	66	62
Other studies besides	28	24	38	15	36	27
Study Hours per Week						
More than 10–planned	50	56	53	44	57	49
–actual	34	38	32	39	45	39

TABLE 2:18
Use and Appreciation of the Telephone Service
(Percent in each subgroup)

Variable	Total	Of which			Lower than sec.	Teachers
		Lang.	Adm.	Sci.		
Students' Initiative						
At least once	72	70	81	65	75	79
Of which "helpful"	78	83	98	78	76	86
Teachers' Initiative						
At least once	35	29	54	24	38	34
Of which "helpful"	91	72	62	91	67	82

study association. Another reason may be the difficulties connected with combining work and studies during a period of two or three semesters.

A preliminary analysis of the pass rates in the distance education programs described above reveals a pattern shown in Table 2:20. A distinction is made between the entire group, corrected for early drop outs who never started any distance studies, and the panel, who might be expected to have become more involved in their studies in terms of attending residential schools and answering questionnaires. The figures, as expected, are consistently higher for the panel. But the main finding is that the entire group has a pass rate (about 58 percent) which is relatively and unexpectedly high for Swedish standards according to what has been said above. It would be surprising if internal part-time students and local external courses could maintain that standard.

Discussion

It is unusual for an evaluator to have difficulties explaining "too good findings." But in this particular case, we must bear in mind the following circumstances: (1) Distance education is new, so the relatively good results may be explained by a "recency-effect." The new courses may have attracted the "cream" of the reserve of talent living outside the commuting areas of both universities and local external courses. (2) The distance courses have had a limited number of participants (a maximum of 30 students was the normal intake in a course offered for the first time), which has made it possible to establish good teacher-student contacts. (3) The distance courses were subject to deliberate planning efforts to overcome the expected specific difficulties. Thus, in most cases, one teacher was given the main responsibility for tutoring, telephone service, and other student contacts. A number of teachers indicated that they felt they knew their distance students better than their ordinary full-time or part-time students.

TABLE 2:19

Complaints from Distance Students about Teachers' Ability to Fulfill Different Aspects of Their Teaching Role

(Percent "seldom" + "never," within each subgroup)
From less successful items out of 13 and the most successful

	Total	Of which			Lower than sec.	Teachers
Variable		Lang	Adm.	Sci.		
Less successful						
Teaching study technique	46	38	53	55	47	46
Information about research	32	33	29	33	31	26
Lead discussion	16	10	12	26	15	14
Help students	15	23	10	19	15	16
Most successful						
Stick to the subject	—	—	—	—	—	—

In any case, time will show if future enrollments of bigger groups will result in equally good pass rates. It is a challenge for the responsible departments to take all necessary precautions to prevent a future drop in the pass rates when distance education has become routine, when the initial motivation and capacity of the students might be lower and when greater groups are accepted. Thus, this early evaluation program may fill a threefold function: to report a relatively successful start; to disclose some weak points in the system; and to give a motive and set a norm for further action to keep up or even increase the standard of the educational processes involved.

The distance program seems to have been quite successful in attracting students living outside the commuting area from universities, colleges and decentralized local external courses. So far, the distance model seems to supplement these other study forms especially among those who in these areas have an interest in university studies but who cannot or do not want to move or commute to a place where ordinary university courses are given. Distance education also provides an alternative in university cities for those who are handicapped or who for other reasons cannot follow regular evening classes. Distance education provides maximum flexibility in reading time and a corresponding challenge to the participants to make plans and to follow them. The pattern of specific steps taken to bridge the distances seems generally to work well, especially telephone service used in the Swedish experiments.

Yet problems are predominantly related to the need of feedback and contact between teachers and students. There are few, if any, indications of any demand for air-mediated radio or television programs. The further development of the system—as in Australia—should concentrate on promoting feedback by means of supplementary study circles, increased telephone service or local weekend schools. In the Uppsala region, a pilot program is planned with "modified

TABLE 2:20
Pass Rates in Distance Courses.
Percent Passed Examination after Three Semesters in Relation to Number of Active Students Enrolled 1974/75

Subject field	Whole Group $N = 1165$	Panel $N = 796$
Languages	52	57
Historical studies	65	72
Administration	68	76
Behavioral sciences	58	62
Economic studies	45	56
Natural sciences	63	69
Total	58	65

distance education," in which the university department has the main responsibility for the program but cooperates with the local colleges and their senior lecturers in arranging local study groups and other means of tutoring.

Finally, the comparison with Australian experience (Dahllöf 1977, ch. 4) has also revealed some inherent bias risks in planning which might also appear in the Swedish context. The main risk is that the program planning might become too dependent on the arranging departments' own need to acquire resources or to keep their staff busy instead of concentrating on the needs felt by the target student groups with regard to contents of the program and location of responsible departments. The new regional boards in Sweden have a specific responsibility in this respect to allocate resources to different university and college departments so that a diversified and balanced program is offered. We noted in connection with Table 2:15, for example, that one of the most important demands by the participants was a more varied supply of courses. A main task for the planning bodies is to coordinate the programs offered in different regions to avoid duplication. There will probably be a need for cooperation between the regions, especially in the middle and southern parts of the country, but also for intermittent offerings of less common subjects.

Such educational planning puts demands on the staff of regional boards in regard to their competence to pursue different kinds of demand analyses and evaluation studies as a basis for resource allocation.

CASE STUDY NUMBER 2

A New General Admissions Policy

Pilot Programs before 1977

Changing admissions schemes is a time-consuming process. The Government Commission's work started in 1965 but the new admission rules were not put into effect until 1977. The Commission was set up for the purpose of creating new rules for widened admission based on real rather than formal competence. The Commission began its task by adjusting the existing admission scheme to the reform (in 1964) of the secondary school system. As a next step the Commission proposed a pilot program on special admission regulations for adults, covering a limited number of courses at the universities. This proposal was submitted to the Government without a thorough analysis and wide circulation for comments, as is the normal process in Swedish administration and decision making. However, the experimental period was the beginning of a new admissions policy in Sweden. A pilot program was proposed in 1969, implying that adults aged 25 or over with at least five years working experience had the right to enroll in certain fields of study at the universities (the so-called 25:5 rule). In 1970 the schools of social work were also included in the pilot program.

The motives behind this experiment were the following: Since 1966 students without completed secondary schooling had the right to enroll in extramural higher education, and the number of students admitted through individual exemption at the universities was steadily increasing. Fully aware of the time required to make a general change in the admission requirements, the Commission wanted to use an experiment to analyze the real effects of widened access to higher education. But, above all, the basic motivation was a general policy trend towards extended adult education and efforts to reduce the generation gap in education witnessed in the 1960s.

According to the 25:5-rule, adults were granted general eligibility to certain parts of the higher education system, but they also had to satisfy the special qualifications required for each course (usually the equivalent of secondary school knowledge in one or two subject areas relevant to the studies). Such special qualifications were not always required. For instance, they were not required for some vocation-oriented courses while, on the other hand, intake capacity was often restricted. Knowledge of English was required for admission, but it was left to the students themselves to judge their own competency. From the start the interpretation of working experience was extensive; both child care and military service could be included in the required five-year working period. Originally, the intention was to widen access primarily to vocation-oriented studies, and the 25:5-rule was applicable mostly to courses in social sciences. business administration, and, in particular, to special vocation-oriented courses which were introduced during the 1960s at the universities.

The number of courses covered by the 25:5-rule was subsequently increased during the 1970-75 period, and additional courses in the arts, natural sciences, and several new vocational courses were included in the pilot program. In 1975 the 25:5-students could enroll in 25 subject areas and 40 different vocation-oriented courses at the universities. Until 1972, the pilot program included only studies up to half a full degree, but since then no such limitation has been applied. This extended right to study up to a full degree was launched simultaneously with the Parliamentary decision in 1972 on the admission issue (see below). There was at that time certain reluctance to extend a decision on widened admission for adults to all higher education before the crucial problem of open or restricted access was solved. The problem was referred to another Commission for further study of the selection methods and special requirements for various groups. So the 25:5-rule continued as a pilot program until 1977.

During the 1970s a considerable change in enrollment patterns and widened admission to higher education emerged in a relatively spontaneous way within a formally unchanged structure. No special arrangements were planned or extra resources allotted for guidance, introduction or training of these new groups (except a minor experiment with introductory courses for adult students over a two-year period. Neither was there any real plan for evaluation of the experimental period. Very clearly, the policy in Sweden has been to integrate these new groups of students on equal terms with traditional students, thereby changing the contents and form of higher education "from the bottom."

The 25:5-rule never applied to restricted faculties, such as medicine or technology. Within these faculties, however, a minor reform was introduced simultaneously in 1969 with somewhat the same intention to widen admission and accreditation: the so-called "free quota" system. This simply means that a predefined proportion of the study places, not exceeding 20 percent, should be allotted to students admitted on special grounds, e.g., foreign students. In this group the applicants should be judged more individually and informally, taking into account not only social factors but also working experience and other considerations.

Enrollment Trends

The number of students admitted according to the 25:5-rule at the universities has been steadily increasing during the 1970s (Table 3:1, Fig. 3:1), due partly to familiarity with new regulations and partly to increasing the

TABLE 3:1

New Entrants to the Unrestricted Faculties of Arts, Social Science and Natural Science, 1969-1976 (Percentage of students with different eligibility)

	New Entrants to Unrestricted Faculties							Students Registered in	
Eligibility	1969/70	70/71	71/72	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76	distant courses 1974	extramural courses 1975
Admitted by *the 25:5 rule*	4.8	6.4	8.3	11.0	15.2	19.8	22.5	24.9	22.1
Admitted by *exemption*	4.1	4.2	4.0	5.4	6.9	12.6	12.1	7.7	5.3
"Normal" eligibility (or unknown)	91.1	89.4	87.7	83.6	77.9	67.6	65.4	67.4	72.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	24,055	22,938	18,105	18,171	17,321	19,545	22,002	618	1,334

Source: SCB (unpublished).

variety of courses. Until 1975-76 a total of 17,500 students had enrolled under these rules at the universities and 1,000 students at the schools for social work. At the same time, many students were enrolled on the basis of individual exemption from the normal requirements (Table 3:1). They were often students with incomplete secondary schooling. The figures show that a large number of new entrants in the restricted faculties–in 1975-76, one third of the total enrollment–have benefited from the special entrance possibilities to higher education. The new rules of admission launched in 1977 in reality were put into effect "in advance" after the Parliamentary decision in 1972, as far as the unrestricted faculties are concerned. As can be seen from Table 3:2, the "free quota" system at the restricted faculties has had increasing, but only marginal, effects except in social work.

However, it is necessary to underline that students admitted under the 25:5-rule are not necessarily–and not even presumably–students with limited educational backgrounds. In fact, most of them are relatively well educated before entering the university. While no complete figures on this are available, early evaluation reports indicate that the proportion of students with only comprehensive education is not more than 10 percent. It is also likely that in recent years, adult students with "normal" eligibility (from three-year streams of secondary school) have enrolled to some extent under the 25:5-rule. Certain figures suggest this trend seems plausible considering that the enrollment procedure is simpler for 25:5 students than for traditional students.

As mentioned earlier, most courses open to 25:5 students are in the social sciences, which accounts for most of the increase in enrollment since the beginning of the pilot program period (Fig. 3:1). In fact, the percentage of 25:5 students enrolled in administration and economics was larger than that of traditional students (Fig. 3:2).

TABLE 3:2

Students Admitted According to the "Free-Quota"–Rules in Restricted Faculties in the Autumn Term 1969-1975
(Percentage in each group.)

Study Line	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Medicine	3.0	8.3	5.1	4.9	7.0	7.2	8.6
Dentistry	4.7	3.1	7.3	5.2	3.6	6.7	10.4
Pharmacy	3.8	1.3	3.7	3.8	7.5	9.8	7.5
Technology	2.2	2.7	2.6	3.1	3.2	5.6	7.4
Social work	–	20.6	20.1	20.0	23.2	21.4	25.6
(whereof 25:5 rule)		(7.5)	(10.6)	(8.9)	(9.8)	(8.7)	(10.4)

Source: Utbildningsstatistik 1970-1975, SCB 1977.

What is the background of the new groups of students recruited through the 25:5-rule compared with traditional students? Some answers to this question are given in Table 3:3. Obviously, the age distribution differs: nearly half of the 25:5 students are over 35 and a considerable number over 45. The influx of middle aged students has increased during the pilot period. Women enrolled under the 25:5 scheme are generally a bit older than men. The proportion of men and women is quite equal but show the usual sex differences when broken down by field of study.

The change in the Swedish enrollment structure—which emerged around 1968-70 towards an increasing percentage of adult students studying part time and not aiming at a full degree—is partly, but not entirely, due to the 25:5-rule. Only a small percentage of the 25:5 students—less than 20 percent—intends to take a full degree when they begin their university studies. This must be kept in mind when evaluating the effects.

Evaluation of Effects

Swedish educational policy puts heavy emphasis on the goal of social equality, especially when it comes to adult education. What are, then, the social effects of the 25:5-rule? The answer is neither easy nor definitive. Traditionally, the effects have been measured by the proportion of underprivileged groups recruited for various kinds of adult education. Results of earlier reforms have been considered disappointing in this respect, and the concept of equality has deepened from "equality of opportunity" to "equality of result." Table 3:3 indicates that the proportion of students with "manual worker" home background is almost the same among 25:5 students as among traditional students. There is, however, a great difference in the proportion of students with "academic" backgrounds. It seems likely that the 25:5-rule has improved "cultural" mobility rather than social mobility by recruiting primarily "first

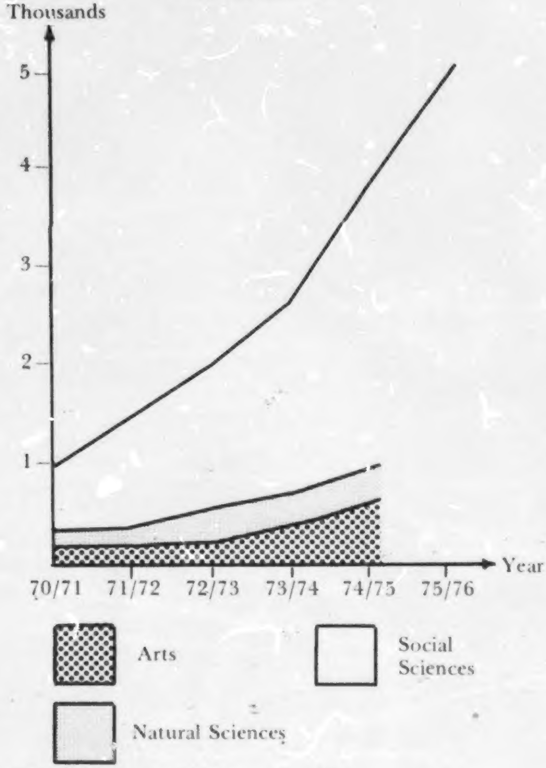


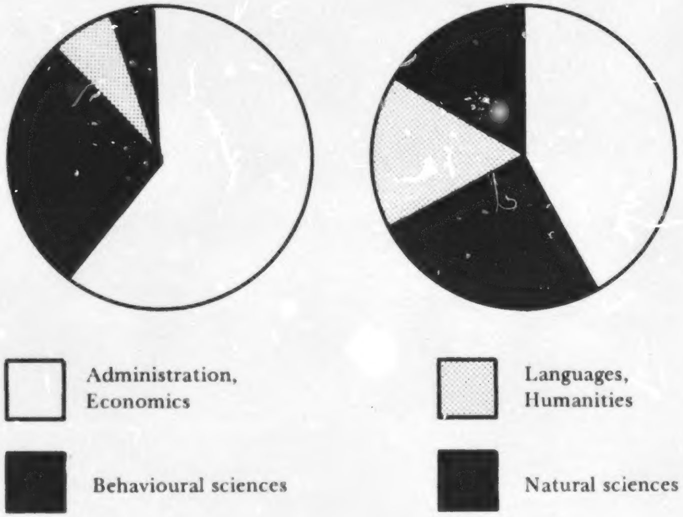
FIGURE 3:1
Enrollments (New Entrants) According to the 25:5 Rule to Unrestricted Faculties of Arts, Social Sciences and Natural Sciences*

***Breakdown for 1975/76 is not available.**
Source: SCB (unpublished).

generation" university students. Evaluation reports from the early pilot period indicate that 25:5 students had moved up socially—often through non-formal education and occupation—before starting university studies.

But the picture is more complicated. Data presented in Table 3:3 are means for the period 1969-76. During this

FIGURE 3:2
Students Registered in Extramural Courses in the Autumn Term 1975.
(Distribution according to field of study.)



Source: SCB (unpublished).

period a stagnation appeared in the trend towards increasing workers' representation in university higher education as a whole. The stagnation was due to a decrease in the proportion of workers' children recruited directly from secondary school, which was balanced by a growing influx of adult students. Thus, it could be said that if the new rules of admission had not been introduced in 1969, the share of workers' children actually would have decreased.

What about dropouts and pass rates for students enrolled under the 25:5 scheme? The diversification of student groups, aims and curricula makes it difficult to give a clearcut answer to the question. Problems in evaluating achievements of diversified student groups have been discussed in the previous chapter. Some follow-up studies of various subgroups and of the entire population concerned

TABLE 3:3

Background of New Entrants to the Unrestricted Faculties of Arts, Social Science and Natural Science, 1969-76.
Comparison Between Groups with Different Eligibility
(Percentage in each group.)

Variables		25:5-rule	Exemption	"Normal" eligibility
Age and Sex				
Men	-24	—	32	72
	25-34	59	45	22
	35-44	26	13	4
	45-	15	10	2
		100	100	100
Women	-24	—	27	76
	25-34	50	37	16
	35-44	31	18	5
	45-	19	18	3
		100	100	100
Social Background (father's occupation)				
Workers children		24	18	20
University graduates' children		4	9	14
Goal				
Full degree		19	33	54
Single subject(s)		81	67	46

Source: SCB (unpublished).

were made in the early 1970s when the pilot program had been in operation for two or three years. They did not reveal any differences in academic results between the adult students and those admitted under normal regulations, as far as conventional outcome criteria were concerned. The pass rates were about the same for groups with the same study goals and the same intensity of study (full time/part time). The experiences at the universities were reported as very positive, and a high level of motivation and active participation of students were often observed.

More recent surveys have revealed student complaints about shortcomings in teaching. An evaluation of the achievement of 25:5 students at the schools for social work also reveals some initial study problems during the first year, usually overcome later on but at the cost of a somewhat slower study speed than traditional students. Other studies indicate that 25:5 students at the universities often need more time to attain the same outcome in examinations as traditional students. Gross data on the number of credit points achieved by 25:5 students enrolled since 1969 reveal that:

- about one third of new entrants never registered nor achieved any credits at all (presumably they never began their studies);
- very few students have obtained a full degree;
- most students have achieved less than 40 credit points (comparable to one year of full-time studies).

These findings need more close analysis and additional information to answer the question of failure and dropouts under the new admissions scheme. Knowledge of students' motives for studying must be improved to judge the outcome. Long-term trends must also be evaluated. In the beginning, representatives of "new groups" can be expected to be a selected sample with regard to general ability and motivation. Widening the field of study for 25:5 students to encompass more general education might also have impacts on motives and pass rates. In light of the new admission scheme implemented in 1977, these problems have come into focus again, and evaluation programs will provide answers in due time.

The effects of broadening admissions for adults must not be reviewed without mentioning what are presumably the most important results of the new policy: the change of curricula, teaching methods and distribution of university-type higher education in order to satisfy the needs of new groups of students. Considerable changes during the 1970s have caused heated debate on the pros and cons of this development.

Basic Principles

As previously mentioned, the new admission rules were preceded by a long inquiry in which the original proposals were gradually modified. The resolution of principle concerning wider admission to higher education was passed by Parliament in 1972, and the new rules of eligibility and selection were adopted simultaneously with the reform of higher education in 1977.

Since "access is part of a large scheme of interrelated matters that involve not only higher education but social priorities as well,"[1] it is difficult to describe briefly the basic principles and objectives of the new admissions scheme. The main features can be summarized as follows:

- to further postpone students' educational and vocational choices through opening up new ways to higher education (preceding the earlier reforms of comprehensive and secondary school);
- to consider real rather than formal competence, e.g., working experience as well as schooling;
- to give a "second chance" to students who for one reason or another were not successful in secondary school;
- to give students with dissimilar educational backgrounds similar possibilities for admission;
- to open up new ways for adult students, thereby reducing the generation gap in education;

---

[1] James A. Perkins, "Foreword," *Access, Systems, Youth and Employment,* Conference Papers Number Four, ed. Barbara B. Burn (New York, International Council for Educational Development, 1977), p. i.

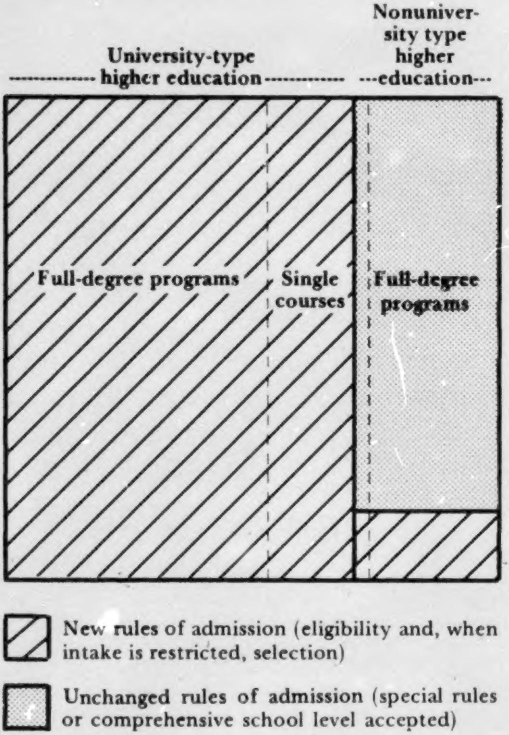
- to maintain—at least for some students—the possibility of going directly from secondary to tertiary level;
- to promote cycles of studying and working; that is to say, recurrent education;
- to promote social equality or, in other words, a balanced structure of student groups and different professional groups in society;
- and to bring about a "just," simple and effective system for admission to higher education.

The new regulations are in principle uniform and nationwide to a greater extent than the old regulations. The admissions scheme thus reflects the basic idea of the 1977 reform—a unified system of higher education. The new rules of admission cover three fourths of all higher education in Sweden, restricted and unrestricted programs, full-degree programs as well as single courses (Fig. 3:3). The rest have either special entrance requirements (for example, the colleges of fine arts) or they accept students directly from the nine-year comprehensive school (for example, nursing schools). This part of the higher education system, formerly called nonuniversity type higher education) recruits a large number of students from upper secondary school. In the future the implementation of the new admission rules will eventually include even these branches of education.

In the Swedish admission system, a fundamental distinction is made between *general* qualification (eligibility) and *special* requirements. The general eligibility rule defines the conditions that must be satisfied by all applicants regardless of the program involved. These requirements are drawn up in very broad terms to be fixed by Parliament. The special requirements which differ for the various programs and courses are decided upon by central or local educational authorities.

According to the new admissions scheme, there are four main ways of obtaining *general eligibility* for higher education:

FIGURE 3:3
The Coverage of the New Admission Scheme (based on data on full-year enrollments in the year 1977/78)


University-type higher education
Nonuniversity type higher education
Full-degree programs
Single courses
Full-degree programs
▨ New rules of admission (eligibility and, when intake is restricted, selection)
░ Unchanged rules of admission (special rules or comprehensive school level accepted)

1. completed three-year streams of upper secondary school;
2. completed two-year streams of upper secondary school;
3. completed education at *folkhögskola* (peoples' high school);
4. four years of working experience for those who are 25 years and over (25:4-qualifications).

Since 1977 nearly all Swedish higher education has been open to those who apply from two-year streams of secondary school as well as to adults with incomplete secondary education. However, to satisfy the special requirements, the equivalent of secondary school knowledge in certain subjects is most often required in addition to general requirements of basic knowledge of Swedish and English languages. To attain this competence, students have to take courses at municipal adult secondary schools (daytime or evening courses). Working experience is given the same interpretation as during the experimental period, and any kind of work, including child care and military service, is considered relevant.

Another general feature of the new admissions scheme is the distinction between admission to full-degree programs and to single courses. This distinction is most obvious in the selection rules but also means less formal requirements for adult students to single courses.

Administration and Selection

As previously mentioned, the Swedish higher education system is comprised of both open access and *numerus clausus* faculties. After certain political conflicts, it has been decided to retain the unrestricted part of higher education consisting mostly of single courses. The general eligibility rules regulate access to this "free" sector, and the rules of selection determine entrance to restricted educational programs.

Although access to a segment of higher education is unrestricted, a central and coordinated application procedure was introduced in connection with the higher education reform. The application procedure is divided between central and local level in such a way that a central admissions unit at the National Board of Universities and Colleges is responsible for admissions to full degree programs, and local admissions offices for the rest. The system has been introduced to improve the planning at all levels and to simplify the application procedure for the students. The central admission system is computerized to allow complicated selection procedures and possibilities for applicants to apply for a number of educational programs at the same time.

A basic criterion for the new selection methods is the applicants' expected aptitude for study. This is more a matter of student aptitude as a group than of the individual applicant's school marks. Study aptitude is nevertheless measured by school marks. Applicants without academic credentials (those admitted under the 25:4 scheme) are offered the possibility of taking an aptitude test voluntarily.

Another guiding principle for the selection system is that students should represent a varied composition of background and experience. This is done by dividing the applicants into so-called quota groups. Each group will then be allotted places in proportion to the number of applicants per group (a proportional quota system). This method is intended to prevent applicants from the two-year streams of secondary school from being bumped by applicants from the three-year streams. It is also considered important for the applicants of all categories to add credits for work experience to their school marks. For selection to restricted programs, the same wide definition of working experience is given as for general eligibility, but the period of work must be 15 months. The crediting of working experience is regarded as an important factor in the development of recurrent education. However, working experience should not be made compulsory for entrance to higher education. To prevent this, a certain percentage of places will be reserved for applicants who are judged solely on the basis of their school marks. A similar "guarantee rule" gives certain priority to adult students qualified by 25:4 scheme but without qualifications on other criteria, i.e., "pure" 25:4 students.

The selection procedure to full-degree programs can be summarized as follows:

a. The applicants are divided into four quota groups which are allotted study places in proportion to the number of applicants per group.

b. The four groups are:

   1. applicants with three years' upper secondary schooling or other equivalent education;
   2. applicants with two years' upper secondary schooling or other equivalent education;
   3. applicants from peoples' high school;
   4. other applicants, i.e., people with "25:4 qualifications," applicants with school marks that are not comparable with those of groups 1 to 3 because of different grading scales.

A fifth group outside the quota system—foreign students—is not proportionally determined but is allotted in advance a number of places not exceeding 10 percent of the total.

In all four quota groups, the applicants are ranked according to their credits based on school marks (groups 1 to 3), aptitude tests (group 4), and working experience (all groups). Selection is made according to their total credit points. Students can gain up to two points for working experience and study aptitude test respectively, and five points for school marks. Foreign students' credits are estimated more informally and individually.

Selection to single courses is made in a different way, taking into account the students' motives and ranking of the course concerned. Applicants with evident needs are given priority, and a predefined number of students are admitted on these grounds. Remaining applicants are put into quota groups defined according to expected target groups for single courses (mostly adult students with working experience). The quota groups are:

1. applicants with at least two years' previous higher education;
2. applicants with working experience of at least 15 months but without the qualifications of group 1;
3. other applicants, i.e., students without either previous higher education or working experience.

Even here the quota groups have places in proportion to their share of the number of applicants. Within each group, the ranking order is determined according to the priority of the course concerned. In the last instance, ranking is decided by drawing lots.

Outcome in the Autumn of 1977

Obviously, student admissions is a complicated procedure, difficult to administer and easily exposed to public criticism. The outcome of various measures are also difficult to foresee. At the first round of admissions in autumn 1977, debate was intensive and the system was heavily criticized, mostly from the administrative point of view. An overhaul of the routines has been made, but there is nothing which indicates that the fundamental presumptions (compulsory application and central admissions to full-degree programs) are being altered. The basic principles of the new rules of eligibility and selection are scrutinized in the follow-up study described below.

In the autumn term of 1977, enrollment to "open access" higher education increased, in particular in single courses. The number of applications for non-degree programs was surprisingly high, and some exemptions from the admission rules were made (e.g., no priority admission on special grounds) in order to cope with the actual situation. On the other hand, there were "empty" places left in some of the newly introduced full-degree programs. At present, data are only available on the number of applications and admitted students by the computerized central admissions system which covers most of the full-degree programs with restricted entry.

TABLE 3:4
Applications to Full-Degree Programs with Restricted Entry in the Autumn Term 1977

Students' background	Number of applications	%
3-year secondary school only	36,181	36
3-year secondary school + working experience	25,590	26
2-year secondary school only	8,755	9
2-year secondary school + working experience	7,415	7
Peoples' high school + working experience	4,118	4
Adult students (25:4) without schoolmarks	2,186	2
Adult students (25:4) with schoolmarks	9,754	10
Foreign students	5,954	6
Total	99,953	100

Source: UHÄ

From a total of 20,000 applicants, 10,700 were admitted. Distribution of students according to quota group allows us to estimate the share of nontraditional students in various fields of study. Rough figures are given in Tables 3:4 and 3:5. Students from two-year streams of secondary school, peoples' high school and students admitted under the 25:4 regulation form a small percentage of the total. The figures are difficult to interpret since one student can apply for up to 12 different programs and belong to more than one quota group.

Some very broad conclusions on the outcome can be drawn. Nontraditional students primarily apply for programs in the field of social work (including medical care) and teacher training. Rather extensive special requirements set up for these programs do not seem to deter adult students. On the other hand, the proportion of adult students

TABLE 3:5

Admitted Students to Full Degree Programs with Restricted Entry in the Autumn Term 1977

(Percentage)

Quota Groups	Total	Whereof		
		medicine	technology	teacher training
(1) 3-year secondary school + working experience	73	66	68	66
(2) 2-year secondary school + working experience	10	8	2	19
(3) Peoples' high school + working experience	2	1		5
(4A) Adult students (25:4) without schoolmarks	4	9	2	4
(4B) Adult students (25:4) with schoolmarks	3	9		3
(5) Foreign students (and students admitted on special grounds)	8	9	8	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	10,777	1,390	4,091	487

is very low in the field of technology and natural sciences. A considerable change has appeared within the group of students with traditional educational background. The fact that work experience is given credit has affected the enrollment pattern in the highly selective area. The average age of new entrants to medical studies and teacher training, for instance, has risen considerably, and the proportion of students admitted directly from secondary school is low. While these effects of the new rules have caused intensive debate, it is too early to judge if these are temporary or long-term effects.

Follow-up of the Reform

The Government and Parliament have particularly emphasized that the follow-up of higher education reform should cover the implementation of the admission rules and their social effects, e.g., applicant structure, impact of the rules on upper secondary school, effect of the percentage guarantee and ability of the labour market to provide job experience. These instructions were prompted by uncertainty and divisions of opinion concerning the effect of the new rules. The uncertainty is due to the alteration of admission rules at the same time that a number of other changes are occurring in higher education. The outcome is also very much dependent on student response.

On the other hand, the examination of higher education recruitment from the vantage point of rules of admission is subject to certain limitations. It could be argued that the point of departure should have been the adjustment of educational amenities to the needs of new groups of students and to their living situation. Wider rules of admission are a necessary but hardly a sufficient prerequisite of wider recruitment. The somewhat longer-term evolution of the follow-up study should therefore be left an open question.

The present aim of the project can be summed up as follows:

1. to give a general picture of the effect of the new rules on higher education recruitment;
2. to analyze the basic principles of the system of rules in light of the outcome.

The rules of admission must be followed up in relation to the goals and directions of change which have been previously defined. Already a hasty inspection reveals that the motives given for the reform incorporate a number of goal conflicts. These conflicts become even more numerous if other goals of higher education development are taken into consideration, e.g., vocational orientation and decentralization. So far, only a few of these goal conflicts have been brought to the surface. A closer examination of such conflicts, coupled with particulars concerning the real outcome, will make it possible to trace and account for undesired effects.

There appears to be a particularly urgent need for the examination of the quota rules. The principle of proportional quotas, a multiplicity of choices and rules concerning "double eligibility," seem to have a perverse effect on recruitment by giving different groups of applicants substantially different chances.

A final remark should stress the importance for the follow-up of wider admission to proceed in light of events throughout the education system at tertiary level. Rules of admission are merely guiding instruments, and the widening of admissions in one quarter will have repercussions elsewhere, e.g., on educational activities run by the adult education associations. The follow-up will thus need to include the question of demarcation between the "educational core" and the "educational periphery."

REFERENCES

André, R., 1975: Cirkelstudier och intensivkurser. *Rapporter från pedagogiska institutionen, Götesborgs universitet* 127.

Berg, B. and I. Johansson, 1977: Project orientation in theory and practice. *UHÄ R&D for Higher Education* 1977: 1, 10-12.

Bergendahl, G., 1977: *Higher education and manpower in Sweden.* Stockholm: The National Swedish Board of Universities and Colleges.

Dahllöf, U., 1975: Problems and pitfalls in assessing internal efficiency in higher education by means of mass statistics. Some experiences from Sweden. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 19, 175-189.

– , 1977: *Reforming higher education and external studies in Sweden and Australia.* Uppsala Studies in Education 3. Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Elgqvist-Saltzman, I., 1974: Drop-out and pass-rate in higher education: Are they useful measures of efficiency? *Educational reports Umeå* 5.

Franke-Wikberg, S., M. Johansson and A. Råberg, 1971: Systematiserad, decentraliserad universitetsutbildning. En kartläggning. *Pedagogiska monografier Umeå* 2.

– , 1972: Utvärdering av systematiserad decentraliserad universitetsutbildning. En sammanfattning. *Pedagogiska monografier Umeå* 14.

Hammarberg, B. *et al.*, 1977a: Regionala effekter av den svenska utbildningsplaneringen. *GERUM, Geografiska rapporter, Umeå universitet C* 19.

– , 1977b: *Regional effects of Swedish educational planning.* SME/ET/77.10. Paris: OECD. Mimeo.

Hammarberg, B. and N. Häggström, 1974: Den högre utbildningens dimensionering och lokalisering. En lägesstudie läsåret 1972/73. *GERUM, Geografiska rapporter, Umeå universitet* A3.

OTE, 1974: *Open tertiary education. Draft report of the Committee on Open University to the Australian Universities Commission.* April 1974: Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, Mimeo.

—, *Open tertiary education in Australia. Final report of the Committee on Open University to the Universities Commission.* December 1974 (pr. 1975). Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

SAMSUS, 1969: *Extern universitetsutbildning.* Universitetskanslersämbetets skriftserie 9, Stockholm: Svenska Utbildningsförlaget Liver AB.

SCB and UKÄ, 1976: *Nya studerandegrupper vid filosofisk fakultet?* Preliminär resultatredovisning. Stockholm: SCB och UKÄ.

SOU, 1975:72. *Distansundervisning. Lägesbeskrivning samt organistoriska alternativ för högskolan.* Betänkande av utredningen angående den fortsatta verksamheten med radio och television inom utbildningsväsendet (TRU-kommittén). Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.

Szymczak, J., 1977: Decentraliserad universitetsutbildning höstterminen 1975. En redovisning av en enkät från SCB och UKÄ. *Rapport, Institutionen för pedagogik, Uppsala universitet* 52.

Tengling, R. and B. Willén, 1975: *Distansundervisning och annan extern universitetsurbildning. En jämforelse i norra utbildningsregionen.* Distansrapport 10. Umeå: Umeå universitet, Pu-enheten. Mimeo.

UKÄ, 1970: det första årets erfarenheter av den nya studieordning vid filosofisk fakultet. UKA 19.11.1970. *UKÄ-aktuellt* 1, 1970/71, 8.

—, 1971: Erfarenheter av 1969 års studieordning vid filosofisk fakultet efter två år. UKA 7.12.1971. *UKÄ-aktuellt* 1971/72, 13.

—, 1972: Tre år med den nya studieordningen vid filosofisk fakultet. 1972.12.13. *UKÄ-aktuellt* 3, 1972/73, 12.

UKÄ, 1974: *Högre utbildning och forskning. UKÄ:s förslag till anslagsäskanden för budgetåret 1975/76.* UKÄ-rapport 1974: 20. Stockholm: UKÄ.

Weissglass, G., 1975: *Studies on service problems in the sparsely populated areas in northern Sweden.* Geographical reports 5. Umeå: Department of Geography, Umeå university.

Willén, B., 1975a: Experimental activities with distance education at Swedish universities. In *Ljoså* (1975. 182-185).

– , 1975b: *Experimental activities with distance education at Swedish universities and some preliminary results from the evaluation program.* Distance Education Report 2. Umeå: Umeå university, Department of Educational Development. Mimeo.

– , 1975c: *Brief broadcast programme as a support to distance education.* Distance Education Report 3. Umeå: Umeå university, Department of Educational Development. Mimeo.

– , 1976: *Informationsspridning, ämnesutbud och geografisk rekrytering till distansundervisningen.* Distansrapport 18. Umeå: Umeå universitet, Pu-enheten. Mimeo.

– , 1977: *Draft tables to forthcoming report on educational problems in distance education.* Uppsala: Department of Education, Uppsala university.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Study Group Membership

James A. Perkins, Study Group Chairman
Chairman, International Council for Educational Development.

Barbara B. Burn, Study Group Director
Director, International Programs, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Horst Bahro, Pädagogische Hochschule Rheinland, Cologne.

Willi Becker
Director General, Ministry for Higher Education and Research, North Rhine Westfalia, Düsseldorf.

Eberhard Böning
Director General for Higher Education, Federal Ministry for Education and Science, Germany.

John Z. Bowers, M.D.
President, Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation.

Frank Bowles (deceased 1975)
Consultant, International Council for Educational Development.

Ladislav Cerych
Director, Institute of Education, European Cultural Foundation.

Mrs. Gertrude Hasemann
German Study Group Coordinator.

Karl G. Hasemann (deceased 1975)
Secretary-General, Federal-State Commission for Educational Planning.

Clark Kerr
Chairman, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education.

Hans Leussink, Karlsruhe University.

Larry G. Simon
Law Center, University of Southern California.

William W. Turnbull
President, Educational Testing Service.

Publications of the German-U.S. Study Group on Access to Higher Education

Recent Student Flows in Higher Education. Ignace Hecquet, Christiane Verniers, and Ladislav Cerych, 1976.	$2.50
Barriers to Higher Education in the Federal Republic of Germany. Willi Becker, 1977 (written in 1976).	$2.00
Admission to Medical Education in Ten Countries. Barbara B. Burn, editor, 1978.	$6.00
Admission to Higher Education in the United States: A German Critique. Ulrich Teichler, 1978.	$5.00
Innovation in Access to Higher Education: Ontario, Canada; England and Wales; and Sweden. Robert M. Pike, Naomi E.S. McIntosh, and Urban Dahllöf, 1978.	$10.00
Access Policy and Procedure and the Law in U.S. Higher Education. Larry G. Simon, Alice J. Irby, Jenne K. Britell and William B. Schrader, and Simon V. Keochakian, 1978.	$6.00
Access to Higher Education: Two Perspectives. A Comparative Study of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America. Final Report of the German-U.S. Study Group, 1978.	$2.50